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Memorials

OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF

THOMAS FULLER D.D.

Memorials

OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF THOMAS FULLER D.D.

BY THE
REV. ARTHUR T. RUSSELL B.C.L.
VICAR OF CAXTON CAMBRIDGESHIRE

LONDON
WILLIAM PICKERING
1844

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TO FRANCIS PYM, ESQ.

OF THE HASELLS, BIGGLESWADE.

My Dear Sir,

IN looking round for a patron of these, my imperfect endeavours to collect some notices of one of the most honest and laborious authors of the seventeenth century, I could find none more suited for this friendly office than yourself. A lover of moderation, and marked by a course of integrity, alas, too rare in this divided and unhappy period, you will here find some traces of a congenial spirit, in one who lived but to advance the interests of truth and goodness, and to commend piety by a life of cheerfulness and contentment.

In the comparative state of the theology of the two periods, it is allowed on all hands, that a great

similarity exists between the times of Dr. Fuller and our own. The same extremes are observable, and unhappily, the same aversion to profit from experience, and to reduce all things to the only unerring standard, the rules of the New Testament; those rules, which, whilst they give but an outline of ecclesiastical discipline, are sufficiently copious in enforcing the Christian spirit, and thus pointing out the true and only apostolic means of securing the spiritual unity of the church.

In these pages may be seen the true *Via Media* between Popery and Puritanism, exemplified in the life of one who was acknowledged and respected by Bishops Hacket and Hall, Morton and Gunning; and who continued the same through good report, and through evil report, representing to the last, the school of Hooker, rather, the original party and state of the Church of England, as established under the auspices of Queen Elizabeth. That state has long since passed away, but if ever our Church shall recover its former greatness and strength, it will be in an age in which not Laud but Hooker, not Heylyn but Fuller, will be regarded as the faithful representatives of the English Church-system.

All false principles are doomed to work themselves out, and to end in dishonour and oblivion. Thus the present generation may live in assured hope of a period that shall revive the Catholicity

of an uncorrupt Christianity, and that shall unite the scattered remains of truth in one body as it existed in the Apostolic age; and array it in such a vesture of external discipline as may best suit with the altered circumstances of the period to which it shall give a name.

It may be, that the development of truth required those late developments of error which have, under colour of restoring catholicity, rent our age with the most effectual of all divisions, those which neither assume an external form, nor result in open separation.

In such a period as the present, a period of theological and ecclesiastical transition, it seemed best to accord with my duty as a servant of the Lord and of his church, not to confine myself too closely to antiquarian and biographical detail, but to glance at least, at whatsoever topics could profitably connect the memorials of the past with the events of the present times.

This must be my apology for an occasional *excursus;* an apology, which I cannot, indeed, expect all who may look into these pages to accept; but my object has been, to write in the character not merely of the biographer, but of the divine. Those who can appreciate the motive, will rest satisfied with the apology.

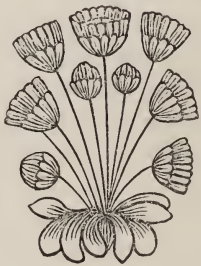
That you, my dear Sir, may long enjoy that do-

mestic happiness by which you are so eminently distinguished amongst your neighbours, and that you may be spared to bless your generation by a long continued course of public usefulness, is the hearty desire and prayer of your

Very grateful friend and servant,

ARTHUR T. RUSSELL.

Vicarage, Caxton.
February 17th, 1844.



INTRODUCTION.

IN preparing the following Memorials the Author has at various intervals resumed his inquiries through the space of three years, during which period he has been indebted to the kindness of the Reverend Dr. Wordsworth, late Master of Trinity College; of Dr. Phelps, Master of Sidney Sussex College; Dr. King, President of Queen's College; Mr. Romilly, the University Registrar; his worthy friends, Mr. Phillips, Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, and Mr. Bunch, Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge; also to the kindness of his friends the Rev. C. Gorham, formerly of Queen's College, now of Fawley, near Henley upon Thames; of the Rev. Thomas

Hartwell Horne; and also to Mr. Baker the Historian of Northamptonshire; to Mr. Coulcher, the Incumbent of St. Benet's, Cambridge; to Mr. Denison, Rector of Broad Windsor, Dorset; to Mr. Wall, Curate of Feltham, Middlesex; to Mr. Pickering, the Publisher; and for the letters from Bishop Davenant to Dr. Ward, he is indebted to Mr. Brewer, of Queen's College, Oxford, the editor of Bishop Goodman's Autobiography, who kindly transcribed them from the ample stores of the Bodleian Library.

MEMORIALS OF THOMAS FULLER.

CHAPTER I.

Dr. Fuller's Father and his Friends.

IT was to be expected that the age which has revived so many of Dr. Fuller's works, should also be curious to know more of himself. These notices, such as they are, will at least unfold more of his character, and will tend to confirm that reputation which his integrity, benevolence, indefatigable industry, and cheerful piety, long since acquired for him. The mention of his numerous friends here briefly memorialized may facilitate further investigation; and may, peradventure, furnish hints for the elucidation of other topics than those which bear especial relation to our author. If indeed, anywhere, the minutest details are interesting, it is in biography, by which we form, as it were, friendships with the dead; and to friendship nothing is unimportant that regards the objects of it.

Dr. Thomas Fuller, the laborious antiquary and

church-historian, was born at Aldwinckle, St. Peter's, (between Thrapston and Oundle,) in 1608, and baptized on the 19th of June that same year, being the elder of the two sons of Thomas Fuller, B.D. Rector of St. Peter's, Aldwinckle, Prebendary of Sarum, and sometime Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Of his birth-place, Dr. Fuller in his *Mixt Contemplations*, observes, "God in his providence fixed my nativity in a remarkable place. I was born at Aldwinckle, in Northamptonshire, where my father was the painful preacher of St. Peter's.

"This village was distanced one good mile west from Achurch, where Mr. Brown founder of the Brownists did dwell, whom, out of curiosity, when a youth, I often visited. It was likewise a mile and a half distant east from Lavenden,* where Francis Tresham, Esquire, so active in the Gunpowder Treason, had a large demesne and ancient habitation.

"My nativity may mind me of moderation, whose cradle was rocked betwixt two rocks. Now, seeing I was never such a churl as to desire to eat my morsel alone, let such who like my prayer join with me therein.

"'God grant we may hit the golden mean, and endeavour to avoid all extremes; the fanatic Ana-

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* *Liveden*, a manor house in a wood. It stood in the parish of St. Peter's, Aldwinckle, and formed part of a hamlet of four houses in as many parishes; Aldwinckle St. Peter's, Brigstock, Pilton, and Oundle.

baptist on the one side, and the fiery zeal of the Jesuit on the other, that so we may be true Protestants, or, which is a far better name, real Christians indeed.'" *

The villages of Aldwinckle, St. Peter's, and All Saints, stand upon a gentle slope, south of the River Nene, which winds northward between rich pastures and well wooded fields to the right, and the picturesque and diversified acclivities to the left, upon which stand the village and church of Wadenhoe. The spire of Achurch rising out of the thick trees is seen on the east side of the river.

The church of Thorpe Achurch consists of a body, chancel, and two cross aisles. Some of the windows present specimens of simple flowing or decorated tracery; others are entirely plain. The spire † is of the earlier kind, as is that of the neighbouring church of Thrapston. The rectory is a very spacious and venerable gabled pile, and the views from the

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* *Fuller's Good Thoughts in Bad Times, &c. Pickering*, 1841, p. 254. Of the *Treshams*, see a notice in his *Ch. Hist.* b. vi. p. 360.

† There are several fine spires in this county as at Oundle, Wellingborough, Thrapston, Kettering, Kingsthorpe, Higham Ferrars, Denford, Aldwinckle St. Peter's, and many others. Hence Dr. Fuller's observation upon Northamptonshire in his *British Worthies*, "It is as fruitful and populous as any in England, insomuch, that *sixteen* several towns with their *churches* have at one view been discovered therein by my eyes, which I confess none of the best; and God grant that those who are sharper-sighted may hereafter never see fewer!" he adds in a note "other men have discovered two and thirty."

grounds adjacent, owing to the unevenness and park-like character of the immediate vicinage, are extremely picturesque.

Between these villages and Thrapston stand the Aldwinckles, All Saints to the east, and St. Peter's to the west. In the rectory of All Saints was born the famous Dryden. The church has been far handsomer than it now is, the chancel roof having been lowered, and the finely decorated head of the east window filled up, and in the interior cut off from sight. With the too common tastelessness of our rural churchwardens, the arches of the nave have been yellow-washed. It has also had the misfortune of being meanly re-pewed. In the windows are some panes painted with clusters of the vine, a very common device in the later period of painting in glass, and lately adopted throughout the nave and aisles of Cockayne Hatley Church, in the county of Bedford. At the end of the south aisle is a chantry-chapel, entered by a very acute arch from the aisle. Its east window is a very elegant union of the decorated and the perpendicular style. The piscina in this chapel is ogeed and embattled, much like that in the chancel of Great Gransden. *

Fuller in his History of Abbies, contained in his Church History, † says of this chapel at Ald-

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* In Huntingdonshire. Amongst the former vicars of Great Gransden, was the Rev. Barnabas Oley, also Archdeacon of Ely, the friend of George Herbert, and the editor of his Poems and Remains.

† B. vi. p. 357.

winckle, "the village of my nativity, a chantry in the parish church of *All Saints* was endowed with house and land for a priest at the cost of Sir John Aldwinkle, Knight, about the reign of King Henry the Sixth."* Of this Church, Dr. Haweis, one of the first promoters of the London Missionary Society, was for some years incumbent. The tower is a very beautiful composition of the fifteenth century, and in a purer style than the more imposing one of Titchmarsh, seen on an eminence to the south-east.

The Church of St. Peter's carries with it a more venerable air, and has suffered less injury. It has a spacious chancel lighted with long and well decorated windows, with a very large east window of five principal compartments, and many smaller above. Under an altar-tomb on the south-east side is buried Margaret Davenant, sometime wife of John Davenant, Esq. citizen of London. She departed this life March 30, 1613.

Upon the tomb is the following epitaph:

> Many and happy years I lived a wife,
> Fruitful in children, more in godly life,
> And many years in widowhood I past,
> Until to heaven I wedded was at last:
> In wedlock, children, widowhood ever blest,
> But most in death, for now with God I rest.

This Margaret was daughter and co-heir of John Clerke, of Farnham, in Surrey; her husband John

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* In the chancel is a brass to William Aldwinkle, Knt. August 28, 1463.

Davenant, descended of the ancient family of that name, settled at Sible Hedingham, Essex, as early as the reign of Henry the Third, was the second son of William Davenant, and Joan, daughter of John Tryer, of Clare, in Suffolk. He was a merchant tailor, lived in Watling Street, London, and acquired a vast estate. By his wife, Margaret, he had two daughters, Judith, wife of Thomas Fuller, the father of the celebrated author, and Margaret, wife of Dr. Robert Tounson, Bishop of Salisbury.

He had also by the same Margaret, four sons, Edward the eldest, that married Anne, daughter of John Symmes, of London, and by her had two sons, Edward Davenant, D. D. whose wife was daughter of Hugh Grove, of Wilts; secondly, Dr. John Davenant, successor to his brother-in-law Dr. Tounson, in the see of Salisbury; thirdly, William Davenant, that married Ursula, daughter of Lisle Cave,* of Leicestershire; and fourthly, James Davenant.†

Mrs. Clerke, Fuller's great-grandmother by his mother's side, was housekeeper to Bishop Gardiner, at Farnham, who "grateful for her attentive courtesies, connived at her heresy, as he called it, and protected her from the ill will of others."‡

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* *Ursula*, daughter of Lisle Cave, of Horsepool Grange, in the parish of Thornton, fifth son of Dr. Francis Cave, of Bagrave, Leicestershire, where that family was settled in the reign of Queen Mary.—*Nichols' Leicestershire*, vol. iii. part 1, pp. 288, 293.

† *Thomas Baker's MSS. Univ. Library, Cambridge.*

‡ *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* b. viii. p. 17.

The old rectory of St. Peter's, Aldwinckle, stood upon the glebe north-west of the Church, was taken down about forty years since, and never rebuilt.

Our author's father, Thomas Fuller, was admitted to a scholarship in Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1586, but the day and month are not recorded. He was admitted of that foundation probably in 1583. Here he was cotemporary with the celebrated orientalist, William Alabaster, who was admitted to a scholarship before him, on May 15th, 1584. Fuller and Alabaster proceeded to the degrees of B. A. and M. A. in the same years respectively, 1587 and 1591. On the 2nd of October, 1589, they were together admitted *minor*, and on the 12th of March, 1590, *major Fellows*. Fuller was resident in college in 1593 and 1594, for on the 2nd of October, 1593, he was sworn *secundus lector*. He never filled any other office, and therefore doubtless did not reside after 1594. He proceeded to the degree of B. D. 1598.*

Fuller, in his *British Worthies*,† relates that his father was present in the bachelor's schools when a Greek Act was kept between Francis Dil-

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* For the above particulars relating to Fuller and Alabaster whilst at Trinity College, the author is indebted to the kindness of Dr. Wordsworth, the late highly respected Master of that College, and to the Rev. J. Romilly, University Registrar.

† Of Alabaster, see the *Biog. Britannica*, and a shorter notice in *Chalmers*. Dillingham was a diligent writer both of practical and controversial divinity. He collected out of

lingham, Fellow of Christ College, and Alabaster; "a disputation so famous that it served for an æra or epocha for the scholars in that age thence to date their seniority." Dillingham was one of the translators of the Bible, and was richly beneficed at Wilden, a small village five miles north-east of Bedford, prettily situated in a rather woody country to the south of Colmworth. He died at Wilden unmarried, and left his estate to his brother Thomas, who was chosen one of the Assembly of Divines, but did not appear amongst them. He was the humble, faithful and painful pastor of Dean, the birthplace of the two brothers, a village near Kimbolton, and one of the most sequestered and picturesque in the pleasant county of Bedford.

Fuller, in his 'Holy State,' records the veneration in which his father held the learning of the renowned Whitaker, who may indeed be called the 'Jewel' of Cambridge. Like that incomparable champion of the Church of England, he honoured

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Bellarmine that subtle author's admissions in favour of Protestantism. He put forth a Manual of the Christian Faith, taken from the Fathers; a Dissertation on the History of Pope Joan; a Refutation of Dr. Hill, the Romanist, who was also answered by Archbishop Abbot; and several other treatises that may be seen in Watts' Bibliotheca, and in the Catalogue of the University Library, Cambridge.

Theophilus, the son of his brother Thomas, was born at Over Dean, was educated at the Grammar School, Bedford, was seven years at Emmanuel College, and admitted of Sidney Sussex College, on the 1st of March, 1637-8.[1]

[1] *Baker's MSS. Brit. Mus.* vol. xi. p. 356.

the Fathers without servility, avoiding both extremes, that of such as trust in their interpretations as binding, and that of such as erroneously conceive that they cannot be sound or safe Protestants without disparaging their worth. The like moderation is exemplified in our author's 'Truth maintained,' being the defence of his sermon on 'Reformation.' 'We have the benefit of the Fathers' books, a mighty advantage, if we were as careful to use it, as we are ready to brag of it for our own credit. And here I must complain of many men's laziness. Indeed a learned man (Holcot) compareth such as live in the latter times in respect of the Fathers to dwarfs standing on giants' shoulders. But then, if we will have profit by the Fathers' learning, we must take pains to mount to the top of their shoulders. But if, like idle dwarfs, we still do but stand on the ground, our heads will not reach to their girdles. It is not enough to throw the books of the Fathers together on an heap, and then, making their works our footstool, to stand on the outside and covers of them, as if it were no more but *up and ride*, boasting how far we behold beyond them. No, if we expect to get advantage by their writings, we must open their books, read, understand, compare, digest, and meditate them. And I am afraid many that least look into the Fathers, boast most that they look beyond them. By the way we must take heed of a fault of which many are guilty. For some are ready to challenge every thing in the practice of the Fathers which doth not please them, presently to be Popish, and pretend they taste su-

perstition in whatsoever themselves distaste. O, say they, the Fathers lived when the mystery of iniquity did work, and hence they infer that it is evidence enough, without further trial, to condemn any ceremonies used by them, *because* they were used by them: the way indeed to make short assizes, but perjured judges. Whereas it is not enough to say, but to show that they are superstitions, to anatomize and dissect the Popery contained in them, demonstrating where it crosseth the Word of God: whereas on the contrary, all wise and charitable men ought to esteem the practices of the primitive church not only to be innocent, but useful and honourable, till they be *legally convicted* to be otherwise."

Our author's father was favoured with the friendship of Overall, Sir Robert Cotton, Dr. Roger Fenton, and Richard Greenham.

"Being appointed to preach before the Queen, he (Overall) professed to my father (most intimate with him) that he had spoken Latin so long, it was troublesome to him to speak English in a continued oration." Fuller further observes of this most learned prelate, that "he was a discreet presser of conformity."*

It is noted of this eminent theologian, that it was his wont to ground his theses in the schools on two or three texts of Scripture, and to show what latitude of opinion or interpretation was admissible upon the point in hand; and that he was celebrated

* *Worthies. Suffolk*, p. 61.

for the appropriateness of his quotations from the Fathers.* It is indeed much easier to allege them copiously than to discriminate between their dogmatical and rhetorical sayings; much easier to draw hasty conclusions from isolated passages, than to compare all the places in which the same subject is handled by one and another of them, and thence to deduce a full and fair statement of their doctrine.

In Fuller's account of Dr. Roger Fenton,† Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and Prebendary of St. Paul's, he gives the following anecdote: "Once my own father gave Dr. Fenton a visit, who excused himself from entertaining him any longer. *Mr. Fuller*, said he, *hear how the passing bell tolls at this very instant for my dear friend Dr. Felton now a dying. I must to my study, it being mutually agreed upon betwixt us in our healths, that the survivor of us should preach the other's funeral sermon.* But see a strange change, God to whom belong the issues from death, was pleased (with the patriarch Jacob blessing his grandchildren), willingly to guide his hands across, and he not only performed that last office to his friend Dr. Fenton, but also survived him more than ten years, and died Bishop of Ely."‡ Roger Fenton wrote, says Fuller, a solid treatise on Usury.

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* *Bishop Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams*, b. i.

† B. A. of Pembroke College, 1588. M. A. 1592. B. D. 1602. D. D. 1613. *Univ. Reg.*

‡ *Worthies. Lancashire*, p. 116.

He died January 16th, 1616, in his fiftieth year, as we read in the epitaph on his monument, erected to his memory by the affection of his parishioners.* From some notes of his funeral sermon, preached by his friend Bishop Felton (one high in the esteem of Bishop Andrewes and his successor in the see of Ely) we learn that Dr. Fenton was free of the Grocers' Company, and was Preacher of Gray's Inn. He was one of the translators of the Bible. "None was fitter," says Felton, "to dive into the depths of school divinity. He was taken early from the University, and had many troubles afterward; yet he grew and brought forth fruit. Never a more learned hath Pembroke Hall brought forth, with but one exception," observes Bishop Felton. That exception was doubtless Bp. Andrewes. From his sedentary habits he was greatly afflicted. This

* *Strype's Stowe's Survey of London*, vol. i. b. ii. p. 197. Dr. Roger Fenton was admitted to the Church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, August 18th, 1601, on the death of Arthur Lawrence, A. M. and was presented by the crown to the Rectory of St. Bennet's, Sherehog (his Church of St. Stephen was in the patronage of the Grocers' Company), this he resigned by November, 1606, being admitted on the 14th of that month to the Vicarage of Chigwell, Essex. On the translation of Bishop Andrewes from Chichester to Ely, Fenton was collated in his place to the prebend of Pancras in St. Paul's, by which he became also (says *Newcourt. Report*, i. 197.) Rector of that Church. He died Jan. 16th 1615-16, in the fiftieth year of his age. In his stall of Pancras he was succeeded by Dr. Henry King, eldest son of that eloquent and nervous preacher Dr. John King, Bishop of London. Dr. Henry King, successively Dean of Rochester and Bishop of Chichester, will not fail to be had in remem-

he had in common with Andrewes, Robert Abbot, and not a few of that indefatigably learned period.

"In the time of his sickness I told him," says his friend, "his weakness and disease were trials only of his faith and patience." Oh no, he answered, they are not *probationes* but *castigationes*.‡

In his "Church History," Fuller memorializes the intimate friendship of his father and the pious and devoted Richard Greenham. He was educated at Pembroke College, Cambridge, and on November 24th, 1570, was instituted to the Rectory of Dry Drayton, near Cambridge. There he lived many years, preaching early every morning, and as constant in his deeds of temporal as of spiritual charity. His works were highly esteemed in his own day, passing through five or six editions, the

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brance as the friend of the pious and ingenious Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's. In the Church of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, succeeded Aaron Wilson, Archdeacon of Exeter, and, May 17th, 1639, D. D. of Queen's College, Oxford. He resigned his Church in 1635, to Dr. Thomas Howell, who for his piety and the general esteem in which he was held, was nominated to the see of Bristol July 1644, and consecrated by Archbishop Ussher. Notwithstanding he suffered greatly from the rebels, and died in 1646, being about fifty-eight years of age. For a copious and admirable life of Bishop King, see his Poems edited by the Rev. J. Hannah, Oxford, 1843.

‡ "*Not trials but corrections.*" In the same manuscript volume in the University Library, Cambridge, whence these brief notices of Dr. Fenton's Funeral Sermon are taken, are numerous notes from his Sermons upon the Creation, &c.; also a copy of a letter from him to Bishop Overall.

latter in folio. Fuller records that no book in that age made more impression on people's practice than Greenham's Treatise on the Lord's Day. He distinguished himself also by his unwearied application in procuring stipends and exhibitions for the assistance of poor scholars at the University. He was in discipline and ceremonies much inclined to Puritanism, and so met with trouble from Bishop Cox. His last days were spent in London, where he died in 1592.*

Fuller, as he was one of the most benevolent, so he was amongst the most grateful of men. Accordingly, in his "Worthies of England," we find the following memorial of Valentine Carey, one of the three bishops who owed their rise at least, in part to the munificent Lord Keeper Williams. "He was a complete gentleman and excellent scholar. He once unexpectedly owned *my nearest relation* in the High Commission Court, when in some distress, for which courtesy, I as *heir* to him who received the favour, here publicly pay this my due thanks unto his memory."†

Dr. Valentine Carey (sometimes spelt Carew) was educated at Christ College, Cambridge, where he was chosen to a fellowship, and in the memorable year of 1588, proceeded to the degree of A. B. Thence he was elected a Fellow of St. John's College, where he proceeded A. M. in 1592, and in

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* *Ch. Hist.* b. 9. pp. 219, 220. *Clark's Lives. Baker's MSS.* vol. xxxvi. p. 97.

† *Worthies. Northumberland*, p. 305.

1599 B. D. In January 1605, he was appointed an University Preacher. On September 17th, 1607, he was installed Prebendary of Stow Longa, in the Church of Lincoln; and on July 14th, 1608, admitted to the prebendal stall of Chiswick, in the Church of St. Paul, London, in the place of Dr. William Barlow, then translated from the see of Rochester to that of Lincoln. In 1610, being appointed Master of Christ College, he proceeded to the degree of D. D., and in 1612, served the office of Vice Chancellor. Whilst he was Master of Christ College, Dr. William Ames being then one of the Fellows, resigned to avoid expulsion for nonconformity, after having preached a sermon against cards and dice, which to many made his nonconformity the more offensive. He settled in Friesland, and his "Marrow of Divinity" procured for him a great reputation amongst such as sided with him.* On the consecration of the learned Dr. Overall to the see of Lichfield and Coventry, Dr. Carey was made Dean of St. Paul's in 1614. In 1617 he, with Bishop Andrewes, Laud and others, attended King James on his tour to Scotland, and is said to have roused the anger of the people against him, by introducing a prayer for the dead upon occasion of a military funeral. For this he was compelled to apologize. On the 27th of September, 1621, he was elected to the see of Exeter on the decease of Dr. William Cotton, godson to

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* See *Fuller's Hist. of Cambridge*, p. 301. *Cambridge*, 1840.

Queen Elizabeth. He now resigned his Deanery to the most pious and ingenious Dr. John Donne, as also his stall in the Church of Lincoln, having vacated the Mastership of Christ College in the preceding year. Dying in 1627, he was succeeded at Exeter by the famous Dr. Joseph Hall, then Dean of Worcester.*

Fuller's father having left Cambridge, was, on the 6th of September, 1632, instituted to the Rectory of Aldwinckle, St. Peter's, on the presentation of Thomas Cecil Lord Burghley,† Dr. Thomas Dove being then Bishop of Peterborough. At Aldwinckle his son Thomas, the Church Historian and antiquary, was born; and on the 19th of June, 1608, appears, by the parochial register, to have been baptized. There are preserved also the dates of the baptisms of his brother John, afterward of Sidney Sussex College, and of his four sisters:

1609. Elizabeth, 22 Jany.
1612. Mary, 13 Septr.
1613. Judith, 21 November.
1615. John, 30 July.

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* *Baker's MSS.* vol. xxvii. p 208. *Nichols' Progresses of James I. Willis's Cathedrals*, p. 244. *Wood's Fasti, ed. Bliss*, i. p. 294.

† Fuller dedicated the 5th book of his "Pisgah Sight" to the Right Hon. John Lord Burghley, son to the Right Hon. John, Earl of Exeter. In the Dedication he says, "Now the first light which I saw in this world was in a benefice conferred on my father by your most honourable great-grandfather, and therefore I stand obliged in all thankfulness to your family." p. 140.

1616. Anne, 23 March.*

It has been already observed that Fuller's maternal grandmother is the Davenant, whose tomb is to be seen on the south side of the chancel of St. Peter's, Aldwinckle. His father married her daughter Judith, and Dr. Robert Tounson her daughter Margaret. Tounson was a native of St. Botolph's parish, Cambridge, was educated at Queen's College in that University, and chosen to a Fellowship there. In 1604, he was Vicar of Wellingborough,† and in 1606 Rector of Old or Wold, a village about eight miles to the north of Northampton, and near the ancient church of Brixworth. To the rectory of Old, which he retained until his promotion to the see of Salisbury, he was presented by William and Francis Tate, of de la Pre, in the county of Northampton, knts.‡ He was also chaplain to James the First, and, in 1617, on the promotion of the courtier, George Mounteigne, to the

* Bishop Davenant in his will, dated January 29th, 1637, left to the three daughters of his sister Fuller, Elizabeth, Anne and *Margaret*,[1] £50. each; to his nephew Thomas Fuller, B.D. £4. and to his brother John £20. upon his taking his degree of A.M. *Cassan's Lives of the Bishops of Salisbury*. Part ii. p. 121.

† *Bridges' Northamptonshire*, ii. p. 151. He was chosen Fellow of Qu. Coll. Sept. 2, 1597.

‡ Feb. 16th, 1606. *Bliss's Wood's Fasti*, i. p. 203. And see *Fuller's Worthies. Cambridgeshire*, pp. 153, 154.

[1] Margaret is probably a mistake for Mary. As no mention is here made of Judith, probably she had died before 1637.

see of Lincoln, succeeded him as Dean of Westminster. He was in July, 1620, consecrated by Archbishop Abbot, Monteigne, Bishop of Lincoln, Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, and Bridgman, Bishop of Chester, to the see of Salisbury. His character was that of the most unimpeachable integrity, as his nephew, Dr. Fuller, sufficiently evinces in his own "Appeal of Injured Innocence," or *Answer to Heylyn.* Dr. Tounson died on the 20th of April, 1620, leaving a widow and fifteen children. Of these, his son Robert, born in Northamptonshire, was, on November 24th, 1625, elected to a Fellowship also in Queen's College.*

Dr. Tounson was succeeded at Salisbury by the profound and erudite Dr. John Davenant, also uncle to Dr. Fuller. Dr. Davenant was at this time President of Queen's College, and Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. In 1622 he preferred his brother in law, Thomas Fuller of Aldwinckle, to the prebendal stall of Highworth in his Church of Sarum, then vacant by the decease of Henry Cotton. This stall our author's father held till his death in 1632,† upon which Bishop Davenant presented to it John Tounson, probably a son of his predecessor in this see.

Bishop Davenant was Vicar of Oakington near Cambridge, from April to December, 1612.‡ Ful-

* *Regist. Baker's MSS. Brit. Mus.*

† In 1632 William, Earl of Exeter, presented to St. Peter's, Aldwinckle, on the death of Thomas Fuller, John Webster, B. D. who was instituted April 30.

‡ *Bishop Andrewes' Register. Baker's MSS.* vol. xxviii. p. 229.

ler in the second book of his Church History, relates the following anecdote of him: "A reverend Doctor in Cambridge, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, was troubled at his small living at Hogginton (Oakington) with a peremptory Anabaptist, who plainly told him, 'It goes against my conscience to pay you tithes, except you can show me a place of Scripture whereby they are due unto you.' The Doctor returned, 'Why should it not go as much against my conscience, that you should enjoy your nine parts, for which you can show no place of Scripture?' To whom the other rejoined, 'But I have for my land deeds and evidences from my fathers, who purchased and were peaceably possessed thereof by the laws of the land.' 'The same is my title,' saith the Doctor; 'tithes being confirmed unto me by many statutes of the land, time out of mind.' Thus he drave that nail not which was of the strongest metal or sharpest point, but which would go best for the present. It was *argumentum ad hominem* fittest for the person he was to meddle with, who afterwards peaceably paid his tithes unto him. Had the Doctor engaged in Scripture argument, though never so pregnant and pertinent, it had been endless to dispute with him, who made clamour the end of his dispute, whose obstinacy and ignorance made him incapable of solid reason, and therefore the worse the argument, the better for his apprehension."*

* *Ch. Hist.* B. ii. p. 112.

CHAPTER II.

Dr. Fuller's Friends at the University.

OF the earlier years of Dr. Fuller no memorial remains but the following notice of him in Aubrey: "He was a boy of a pregnant wit, and when the Bishop [Davenant his uncle] and his father were discoursing, he would be by and hearken, and now and then put in, and sometimes beyond expectation, or his years. He was of a middle stature, strong set, curled hair, a very working head, in so much, that walking and meditating before dinner, he would eat up a penny loaf, not knowing that he did it."*

Fuller was educated for about four years in a private school at Aldwinckle, under the Rev. Arthur Smith, who in September 1621, appears to have compounded for his first fruits as Vicar of Oundle.† He was probably the same who was B. A. of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1608, and M. A. 1612.‡

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* *Aubrey's Letters.* London, vol. ii. pt. ii. p. 334.

† *Bridges' Northamptonshire,* vol. ii. p. 408.

‡ *Univ. Register.*

Fuller was thence removed to Queen's College, Cambridge, where he was admitted on June 29, 1621; his uncle, Bishop Davenant, being then President, and Mr. Edward Davenant, the Bishop's nephew, and Mr. John Thorpe, tutors. Edward Davenant was instituted in classical learning at Merchant Taylor's School, and thence sent to Queen's College. He was, (according to Aubrey,) a very eminent mathematician; B.A. of Queen's College, 1614, M.A. 1618; and in the following year, incorporated of the University of Oxford. In February 1623, he was preferred by his uncle to the prebendal stall of Ilfracomb in the church of Sarum, and was by him made in 1630 Archdeacon of Berkshire,† which he resigned in 1634, for the Treasurership of Sarum. He died at an advanced age at his rectory of Gillingham, in Dorsetshire, on the 12th of March, 1680. Fuller remained at Queen's College till the 5th of November 1629; taking his degree of B.A. in 1624-5, and that of M.A. at the commencement, in 1628. His anonymous biographer relates that he would have been elected to a fellowship at Queen's College, but that the statutes forbade two fellowships to be held together at the same time by natives of his county. The same writer adds, that he might have had a dispensation, but declined it. The following correspondence, however, of his uncle, Bishop Davenant, would lead us to infer that this account was altogether unfounded.

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† Being then D.D. B.D. 1624, D.D. 1629. John Thorpe was B.A. 1614, M.A. 1618, B.D. 1627, taxor, 1625.

Bishop Davenant to Dr. Samuel Ward, Master of Sidney Sussex College.

Salutem in Christo.

Good Dr. Ward, so soon as I have opportunity, I shall think of those points which you mentioned unto me in your last letter. But I am at this present unfurnished of books, and am so like to continue till I return to Sarum. The number of those that die weekly is not great; but the danger is, that ever and anon, some new house is infected. I pray God we may safely return thither at Christmas. I am now going to the bath, to try if I can get away the noise in my head. I have written to the Master of Queen's College, to know what likelihood there is for the preferment of my nephew Thomas Fuller, unto a fellowship. He is to be Master of Arts next commencement, and therefore, I am resolved (if there be no hope there) to seek what may be done elsewhere. And herein I must crave your favour and assistance. I pray, therefore, (if you can prefer him in your own college) let me entreat your best assistance therein; or if you have no means to do it there, make trial what Dr. Preston thinks may be done in Emmanuel College. In brief, I should be glad to have him sped of a fellowship in any college, and should not be unthankful towards that society which, for my sake, should do him this favour. I am unwilling to write unto any but yourself, unless I first might understand from you, where is the best likelihood of prevailing: and then I should write willingly unto any whom you find wil-

ling at my motion to do him good. Thus with remembrance of my love, I commit you to God, and rest always your very loving friend,

Jo: Sarum.

Lacham,* Sept. 23, 1627.

In another letter to the same, dated from the same place, on the 25th of the following month, Bishop Davenant writes: "Dr. Mansell has not yet given me a resolute answer whether Sir Fuller be in possibility of being chosen at their next election or no. But I have now writ unto him, and expect a full and final answer. If there be no hope of speeding in Queen's College, I should think myself beholding unto you, (as I formerly writ) if you would take pains to enquire in what other college he might be sped. Wheresoever that favour should be done him, I should not forget to take some opportunity of requiting it."

On the 28th of November, Davenant wrote again to Dr. Ward from Lacham; "Dr. Ward, I heartily thank you for your mindfulness of my nephew, Sir Fuller. What Queen's College will do for him, I know not: I have writ unto his father to make a journey over to Cambridge, and to see whether any thing is likely to be done for him in our own college, that if there be no hope there, we may seek abroad in time."

Fuller was passed over in the ensuing election to the vacant fellowships at Queen's College, upon which Bishop Davenant wrote again to Dr. Ward,

* A seat of the Montagus, near Chippenham.

requesting his admission at Sidney Sussex College as a *Tanquam-Socius.*

Salutem in Christo.

" Dr. Ward, I am informed that they have made a late election at Queen's College, and utterly passed by my nephew. I would the Master had but done me that kindness, as not to have made me expect some kindness from him. I should have taken it much better than his doing of less than nothing after some promise of his favourable assistance. I am loth Mr. Fuller should be snatched away from our University before he be grown somewhat riper. His father is persuaded to continue him there until I can provide him some other means; but he thinks it will be some disparagement and discouragement to his son, to continue in that college, where he shall see many of his punies slipt before him in preferment. In which respect he is very desirous that he should remove unto your college, there to live in fellows' commons, till he shall be otherwise disposed of. We neither intend nor desire to make him fellow in yours or any other college, but only that he may be conveniently placed for the continuance of his studies. I pray, do him what kindness conveniently you may, in helping him to a chamber and study, and in admittance into fellows' commons, with as little charge as the orders of your house will give leave. In Queen's College, Masters of Arts had many times the favour granted to come into commons without giving plate or any other such like burthens which lay upon young gentlemen, fellow-

commoners. I make no doubt of your readiness to do him any lawful favour, but the chief thing which I am at in this removal is, that he may also have your supervision and direction, both in the course of his life and study. And thus with remembrance of my love, I commit you to God, and rest always your very loving friend,

Oct. 21, 1628. Jo : Sarum."

Accordingly, Fuller was on the 5th of November, 1629, admitted a *Tanquam-Socius* at Sidney Sussex College, under the tutorship of Dr. Ward the Master, and Mr. Richard Dugard. So Dr. Dove, Bishop of Peterborough was, many years previously, retained at Pembroke College, in the same University.

Dr. Samuel Ward was one of the most learned theologians of this truly theological period. From a fellowship in Emmanuel College, he was chosen to the Mastership of Sidney College in 1609. He was, with Dr. Collins, Provost of King's College, and Dr. Brownrigg, much in request at Buckden, at the table of the most munificent, learned, and hospitable Williams, the too obsequious servant of King James, and one who would have been truly great, had he been less ambitious.

Dr. Ward was with Davenant deputed to represent the Church of England at the Synod of Dort. In discipline he inclined to the Puritans. He was remarkable for his gravity of deportment and for the integrity with which he discharged the duties of his Mastership.

He was born at Bishop's Middleham (nine miles south-east of Durham,) of an ancient family. He was first, scholar of Christ College Cambridge, and thence removed to Emmanuel College. Being appointed Chaplain to the royal favourite, the Hon. James Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, (and, on the decease of Bilson, of Winchester,) that prelate made him Archdeacon of Taunton in 1615, and also Prebendary of Wells. He had been previously selected with Bois and Downes, of St. John's College, Dr. Duport, and others, for the new translation of the Apocrypha. He was also enrolled amongst the king's chaplains, and was probably inferior to scarcely any of them in learning. Some proof of this may be seen in his letters to the elder Vossius, in which he animadverted upon that distinguished author's History of Pelagianism. He was also the friend and correspondent of the indefatigable Usher.

He was in Feb. 8, 1616, preferred by his royal master to the Rectory of Much Munden, Hertfordshire, which he resigned in September 1636. In 1617, (the year previously to his mission to the Synod of Dort,) he was promoted to the prebendal stall of Ampleforth,* in the Church of York, by Dr. Toby Mathew. His college flourished greatly during his Mastership, and under the tutors Dugard and Micklethwaite. Dr. Ward adhering to the

* He was, upon the Restoration, succeeded in this stall by Dr. Humphrey Lloyd, afterwards Bishop of Bangor, who held it in commendam.

doctrine prevalent under Elizabeth and James, and being entirely opposed to the more Grotian opinions of Laud and the court-clergy, might have been in great favour with the Parliament, but with many who disapproved of the past courses of the king, he loyally suffered in his cause, when moderation appeared to leave the counsels of the popular party. And so he died in consequence of his sufferings, in 1643. His Theses, whilst Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity, attest his readiness in the scholastic theology of those times; now, peradventure, too lightly esteemed. *

Mr. Richard Dugard, fellow and tutor of Sidney College, and B. D. in 1620, was born at Grafton Flyford, a little village, seven miles east of Worcester, between that place and Alcester. He was brought up under Mr. Henry Bright, a native of Worcester, forty years Master of the grammar school there, and seven years prebendary of that cathedral.† "I name him the rather," says Ful-

* Fuller, who has gratefully memorialized Dr. Ward, in his Worthies, (Durham, vol. i. p. 334) concludes thus: "He turned with the *times* as a rock riseth with the *tide;* and for his uncomplying therewith, was imprisoned in St. John's College, in Cambridge. In a word, he was counted a *puritan* before these times, and *popish* in these times; and yet, being always the same, was a true protestant at all times. He died anno 1643, and was the first man buried in Sidney College Chapel."

† Mr. Henry Bright was installed Prebendary of *Pratum Minus* in the Church of Hereford, November 2, 1607, and in 1619 was made a Major Canon of Worcester, being Prebendary of the 5th stall, both which he retained to his death

ler,* "because, never did Master Calvin mention his Master Corderius with more honour, than Master Dugard gratefully remembered Master Bright." This latter died in 1626, and Dr. Joseph Hall, then Dean of Worcester, wrote his epitaph, in which he highly commends his skill as well in the Hebrew, as in the Greek and Latin tongues, and commemorates his zeal and success as a preacher.† Of Dugard, Fuller records, "He was chosen fellow of Sidney College, where, in my time, (for I had the honour of his intimate acquaintance) he had a moiety of the most considerable pupils, whom he bred in learning and piety, in the golden mean betwixt superstition and faction." He was as eminent in learning as in discretion, having the character of an excellent Grecian and general scholar. He gave to the college £120, besides £10 for the library. At last he was surprised with a presentation to the rectory of Fulletby, in Lincolnshire, where, by his constant preaching and pious living, he procured his own security, a rare happiness in those troublesome times. He died January 28, 1653, and lies buried under a marble stone in his chancel."

Amongst his pupils was Sir George Ent, M.D. of Padua, son of Josiah Ent, a merchant, and born at Sandwich in Kent on Nov. 6th, 1604. He was

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March 4, 1626. In his stall he was succeeded by Dr. Nathaniel Giles, who was installed March 10, 1627, and who was also Rector of Newton Longville, Bucks. He died in 1655.

* *British Worthies, Worcestershire*, p. 176. † P. 177.

President of the College of Physicians, and knighted by King Charles II. He wrote in defence of Dr. Harvey on the circulation of the blood. His portrait is prefixed to his Animadversions on a work by Malachi Thruston, M.D. He died in 1689, and was buried in the Church of St. Lawrence Jewry.*

Sir George Ent was admitted of Sidney College in 1624, and about the same time, James Montagu, the third son of Henry Lord Montagu; his brother Walter and eldest brother Edward having been admitted early in 1618. Also about the same time Miles Sandys, son of Thomas, and grandson of Archbishop Sandys, a native of London, and scholar of this house. Also Oliver St. John, eldest son of Anthony St. John, knt. born in Abchurch parish, London, about A. D. 1608, and admitted a fellow-commoner, but not under Dugard, but under Richard Chase.† In 1628 (the year previously to Fuller's admission at this College) was entered Charles Gataker, son of the famous Thomas Gataker, the editor of Antoninus. Charles, after he had taken the degree of B. A. went to Pembroke College, Oxford, where he proceeded M. A. June 30th, 1636. He became Chaplain to the truly patriotic Falkland, and upon the death of that incomparable person found a patron in Charles Earl

* He also wrote in the *Philosophical Transactions*, 1691. *Wood's Fasti, ed Bliss*, i. p. 504.

† *Baker's MSS. Brit. Mus.* Chase was B. A. of Sid. Coll. 1617, M.A. 1621. B.D. 1628. *Univ. Reg.*

of Carnarvon, through whose interest he was preferred to the Rectory of Hoggeston (between Winslow and Aylesbury) about 1647, where he continued till his death in 1680. He entered into controversy with Bishop Bull, who noticed his strictures in his *Examen Censuræ.*

Edward Montagu, whilst a member of the House of Commons, was one of the five so suddenly demanded by the misguided Charles, when he entered that house in person, Jan. 4th, 1641. He, afterward, when Earl of Manchester, took part against the King, but retraced his steps, and was made Chamberlain to the household of Charles II. Walter Montagu apostatized to the errors of Rome, and was in 1630 Porter of the Jesuits' College at St. Omer's. That bright ornament of our Church and nation, Lord Falkland, wrote an Answer to his "Letter in Justification of his Change." *

Whilst our author was residing in Sidney College, King Charles I. returned to the College the skull that was found in the Isle of Crete, incrusted with stone, and brought over hither in 1627. "There is," says Fuller in his *English Worthies*, "within the demesne of Boughton (the barony of the Right Honourable Edward Lord Montagu) a spring which is conceived to turn wood into stone. The truth is this, the coldness of the water incrustateth wood (or what else falleth into it) on every side with a stony matter, yet so that it doth not transubstantiate *wood* into *stone;* for the wood re-

* *Wood's Fasti*, ii. p. 284.

maineth entire within, until at last wholly consumed, which giveth occasion to the former erroneous relation. The like is reported of a well in Candia with the same mistake, that 'Quicquid incidit lapidescit.' But I have seen in Sidney College in Cambridge, a skull brought thence, which was *candied* over with *stone* within and without, yet so as the bone remained entire in the middle as by a casual breach thereof did appear. This skull was sent for by King Charles; and whilst I lived in the house, by him safely again returned to the College,—being a prince as desirous in such cases to preserve others' propriety, as to satisfy his own curiosity." *

Of Sidney College, Fuller remarks in another place (p. 185) that "William Wilmer, Esq. sheriff of Northamptonshire in the 12th of James I. was the first pensioner, as Dr. James Montagu was the first Master, and Sir John Brewerton first scholar, of the House in Sidney College; being all *three* of them (but in several proportions) benefactors to that foundation."

Amongst Fuller's cotemporaries was the antiquary Sir Symonds D'Ewes, who afterward communicated with him when engaged upon his Church History. Jeremy Taylor was entered of Caius College in 1626, a sizar of that foundation. Whether he was acquainted with Fuller at Cambridge, does not appear; but in the fourth book of the

* *The Worthies of England*, vol. ii. pp. 159, 160, ed. Nichols.

Church History our author, touching upon All Souls' College, adds, "Know, reader, I was promised by my respected friend, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, (late Fellow of this house) well known to the world by his worth [A.D. 1655] a catalogue of the eminent scholars thereof; but it seems the press (like time and tide) staying for no man, I have not been so happy seasonably to receive it."*

To Edward Bendlowes, who was admitted of St. John's College in 1620, Fuller dedicates the sixth part of his History of the University of Cambridge. He appears to have been benevolent without prudence, and to have suffered accordingly; but to have lived in the respect of those who, perhaps, knew not the exigences by which he was overtaken in his later years. He retained, moreover, to an unfashionable period for such a characteristic that aversion to Popery and to Arminianism, which, in his younger days, was far from singular.†

Now also he was probably acquainted with Sir William Paston of Norfolk, Baronet, whom he has similarly memorialized in his *University History*.‡

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* *Book* iv. p. 182.

† *Wood's Fasti*, ii. pp. 358-360. Fuller in his *Worthies (Cambridgeshire*, p. 178, vol. i.) mentions *Simon Steward*, knt. Sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in the 9th of James I. "I remember he lived (after he was knighted) a Fellow-commoner in Trinity Hall, where [these] his arms are fairly depicted in his chamber with this distich over them. *Francorum Carolus*, &c."

‡ See *Dedication of the 3d Section*, and *Master's Hist. of C. C. College*. To Sir Wm. Paston also Fuller dedicated

Of the same College of Corpus Christi was his friend Edmund Gurney, B.D. He was B.A. of Queen's College, and was thence chosen Fellow of Corpus Christi College, where he remained until 1614, when he was instituted to the Rectory of Edgefield, Norfolk, whence he was, in 1620, preferred to that of Harpley in the same county. He died in 1648. "He was," says Fuller, "an excellent scholar, who *could* be humorous and *would* be serious, as he was himself disposed. His humours were never profane towards God, or injurious towards his neighbours, which premised, none have cause to be *displeased*, if in his fancies he pleased himself.

"Coming to me in Cambridge when I was studying, he demanded of me the subject whereon I studied. I told him I was collecting the witnesses of the truth of the Protestant religion through all ages, even in the depth of Popery, conceiving it feasible, though difficult to evidence them. 'It is a needless pains,' said he, 'for I know that I am descended from Adam, though I cannot prove my pedigree from him.' And yet, reader, be pleased

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his map of Palestine in his *Pisgah-Sight*, together with his noble patron James, Earl of Middlesex, Baron Cranfield, and to Sir Robert Cordel, of London and Melford. He married Margaret, daughter and co-heir of Sir Edmund Wright, Lord Mayor of London, and died about 1680. The baronetcy became extinct in 1704.

Sir William Paston died in 1662. Fuller, in his British Worthies, thus notices him (Norfolk, p. 263.) "*the bountiful promoter of all my weak endeavours.*"

to take notice that he was born of as good a family as any in Norfolk. His book against Transubstantiation, and another on the Second Commandment are learnedly and judiciously written. He died in the beginning of our civil wars."* Our modern Romanizers would doubtless differ from Fuller in their opinion of the works above named. They are very brief, and display some ingenuity. That upon Transubstantiation is in fact entitled "The Demonstration of Antichrist." It is dedicated to the Prince Charles, and is a dissertation upon this thesis, "He that professeth himself the supreme head of the Church of Christ, and yet forceth men upon pain of death, to blaspheme Christ, He is Antichrist." Transubstantiation is selected to prove the blasphemy of the papal power. We have amongst us some who speak a very different language, but whether this kind of blasphemy be the distinctive badge of the *great* Antichrist or no, certain it is that transubstantiation is that mystery of falsehood by which, above all, the glory of Christ is taken from him to be devolved upon creatures, creatures without sense. Invincible are the objections,—that transubstantiation implies a miracle without an end; for without it all the spiritual benefits of the sacrament are communicable through the holy symbols of our Lord's absent body: secondly, that it contradicts all the senses, the senses by which alone a miracle can be tested; and

* *British Worthies. Norfolk*, p. 258. He died in 1648, according to *Master's History*.

thirdly, that, its advocates themselves being judges, it is not necessarily contained in any words of Holy Scripture.

Of Mr. Henry Mole, A.M. of King's College and Public Orator from 1639 to 1650, Fuller had the account of his father recorded in his *Worthies*. (Devonshire, p. 275, vol. i.) Mr. John Mole was for thirty years a prisoner in the Inquisition at Rome. He was seized there whilst companion to his pupil the Lord Ross. He died in the eighty-first year of his age, about A.D. 1638. Mr. Charles Neville, Vice Provost of King's College, Fuller mentions in his account of the Bishops of that name as a master of all heraldic knowledge.

In 1616 Mr. Wm. Buckly, B.D. of Clifton near Hawnes, in Bedfordshire, was elected Fellow of Queen's College. Fuller speaks of him as his worthy friend lately gone to God. So he must have died about 1656. From him he collected his minute and interesting account of Brightman, the Puritan commentator upon the Book of Revelation. Whilst at Queen's College, Brightman was noted for his disputes with Dr. Meriton* of the same College, and afterward Dean of York, the latter being an equally earnest maintainer of conformity. Brightman was indeed sadly defective in

* Dr. George Meriton was Rector of Hadleigh, Suffolk, Dean of Bocking, Dean of Peterborough, 1612, (to which Deanery he was instituted June 12, on the death of Dr. Richard Clayton, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge), Dean of York, March 25th, 1617. He died Dec. 23rd, 1624.

judgment, but his life is said to have been most blameless. Dr. Whitaker commended him to Sir John Osborne for the Rectory of Hawnes, who restored the great tithes to that rectory, and built a house for the incumbent, thus conscientiously restoring to God his own.†

Fuller also memorializes another Fellow of the same College, Mr. Stephen Nettles, many years his senior. He was of the county of Salop, and having studied the usual period of four years at Queen's College, was admitted a Fellow there October 11th, 1599. He in 1625 published at Oxford, an "Answer to the Jewish Part of Mr. Selden's History of Tithes."‡

But to Corpus Christi College Fuller readily acknowledged himself more indebted than to Queen's College. Thus he concludes his notices of that foundation in His University History: "So much of this College; the antient history, out of the archives whereof, my good friend Mr. Crofts (fellow of the same, lately gone to God) communicated unto me, with the courteous consent of Dr. Richard Love the worthy Master of this College.* Yea, I

† See *Ch. Hist.* B. 10, p. 50.

‡ He was beneficed at Tey Magna or at Lexden in Essex, or at both those places. *Fasti, Oxon.*

* Dr. Richard Love was born in the parish of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge, December 26th, 1596. He was collated to the Prebendal stall of Tachbrook in the Church of Lichfield, October 12th, 1631, and in the following year chosen Master of Corpus Christi College. On the Restoration, he was installed Dean of Ely, September 28th, 1668. He died

must thankfully confess myself once a member at large of this house, when they were pleased above twenty years since, freely (without my thoughts thereof) to choose me Minister of St. Benedict's Church, the parish adjoining, and in their patronage." † Mr. Crofts was a Fellow of this College in 1635, ‡ continued in his fellowship throughout the troublous times, and died in 1655.

John Booth, B.D. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, appears amongst those friends of our author who wrote laudatory verses prefixed to his *Holy War*. He was highly esteemed for his scholarship by Mr. William Dugard, Master of Merchant Taylor's School, remained in College to 1638; was Rector of Bartlow near Linton in 1640, and died in February 1642. §

On the same occasion appears the name of our author's friend James Duport, the son of Dr. John Duport, * Master of Jesus College, at the lodge of which College he was born in 1606. He was educated at Westminster School and Trinity College

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about the beginning of the following February, being succeeded in his stall by Thomas Smith, B.D. afterward the very munificent Bishop of Carlisle, and in his Deanery by Dr. Ferne, who soon after adorned the see of Chester.

† *Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge*, p. 104. *ed. Camb.* 1840.

‡ B.D. in 1640.

§ *Master's Hist. of C. C. C. C.* p. 147.

* Dr. James Duport's mother was Rachel, daughter to Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely: his father, Dr. John Duport, son to Thomas Duport, Esq. was born at Shepeshed in Leicestershire, and, from a Fellowship was raised to the Mastership of his College in 1590. He was thrice Vice-chancellor of his University. "He was," says Fuller, "one of

under Dr. Robert Hitch, afterward Dean of York.† He succeeded Creighton in the Greek Professorship in 1639, was ejected in 1654 for refusing the engagement, and did not resume it at the Restoration; but in 1668 was appointed Master of Magdalen College, being then also Dean of Peterborough, where he in 1664, succeeded Dr. Rainbow, the exemplary Bishop of Carlisle. With his Deanery he also retained the Prebendal stall of Leighton Buzzard in the Church of Lincoln, to which he had been preferred in 1641 by Williams, who had previously shown his regard for him by presenting him successively, and in the same year, to the Archdeaconry of Stow, and thence to the stall of Langford Ecclesia. He died July 17th, 1679, in his seventy-third year, leaving many monuments of his industry and learning to posterity, and a noble benefaction of books to the library of Trinity College.

Fuller's friend Henry Hutton, of Jesus College, was B. D. and fellow of that foundation, and was

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the Translators of the Bible, and a reverend man in his generation, who bestowed the perpetual advowson of Harlton on the College." *Worthies*, vol. i. p. 571.

† Dr. Hitch was, on March 26th, 1660, preferred to the Prebendal stall of Holme, in the Church of York, upon the death of Dr. Thomas Benson; and when our author's friend, Mr. Clement Bretton, was preferred to the Archdeanery of Leicester, 1662, Hitch, who had been created D.D. by royal mandate in 1661, was made Archdeacon of the East Riding, in the place of Bretton, and upon the promotion of Sancroft to the Deanery of St. Paul's, admitted to that of York Dec. 22nd, 1664. He died in 1676, and was buried at Guisley near Otley, between York and Skipton.

amongst the benefactors to the new part of Jesus College, erected about 1637 under the direction of Dr. Sterne, then Master, and, on the Restoration, Archbishop of York.*

His friend William Johnson, Fellow of Queen's College, is said to have been at once "the most witty and most pious man living." He was Rector of Warboys, Huntingdonshire. In his *Deus Nobiscum* [God with us], or *Sermon preached upon a great deliverance at sea*, 1648, he relates that he was twice shipwrecked, and that he lived four days without any sustenance, and lay two nights and two days upon a rock in the deep. He was, upon the Restoration, made Chaplain and Subalmoner to Charles II. Archdeacon of Huntingdon, April 13th, 1665, and 15th August, 1666, Prebendary of Holywell † in St. Paul's. He died aged fifty-seven years, March 4th, 1667,‡ and was buried in the north transept of Westminster Abbey.§

Clement Bretton, of Sidney College, another panegyrist of our author's "Holy War," was preferred by George Ashby, Esq. to Church Langton in Leicestershire, but was sequestered in 1645. In 1639 he was admitted an University Preacher, and in 1640 proceeded to the degree of D. D. In 1660 he succeeded the learned Dr. Cosin as Archdeacon of the East Riding, and resigning it in 1662, was made Archdeacon of Leicester. He died at

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* *Shermanni Hist. Coll. Jes. Cantabr.* p. 32. *London* 1840.

† *alias* Finsbury.

‡ *Wood's Fasti, ed Bliss*, ii. 208.

§ *B. Willis. Lincoln*, p. 108.

Uppingham in 1669, and was buried there without any memorial, July 19th.*

John Ridley, who wrote some Greek verses prefixed to our author's "Pisgah-Sight," was B. A. of King's College, Cambridge, 1616.†

Bishop Hacket makes favourable mention of Fuller's Church History in his Life of Archbishop Williams,‡ and Fuller fails not to notice him with due regard in his account of Trinity College. "Besides many worthies still alive, John Hacket, Doctor of Divinity, whose forwardness in furthering these my studies, I can only deserve with my prayers. Dr. Henry Ferne, whose pen hath published his own worth. Master Herbert Thorndyke, so judicious and industrious in setting forth the many-languaged [Polyglot] Bible. Mr. James Duport, so much the more prized by others, for his modest undervaluing his own worth; with many more whose number God daily increase."

Dr. Ferne was the son of Sir John Ferne of York, where he was born. He was educated at Uppingham School, by the care of his father-in-law Sir Thomas Neville of Holt in Leicestershire. He studied for two years at St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, and was thence removed to Trinity College, Cam-

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* Nicholl's Leicestershire, and Kennet, p. 234.

† Probably related to Sir Thomas Ridley, knt. LL.D. who wrote a *View of the Ecclesiastical Laws*, was a native of Ely, and a Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and afterward Chancellor of Winchester, and Vicar General to the Archbishop of Canterbury. He died A.D. 1629-30, January 22. See *Fuller's Worthies*, vol. i. p. 164.

‡ Pt. i. p. 164.

bridge 1620; there he proceeded B. A. 1623, M. A. 1626, and D. D. 1641. He was soon appointed by the venerable Bishop Morton one of his domestic chaplains, and by his college preferred to the Church of Masham in Yorkshire, and soon after by his brother-in-law Henry Neville of Holt, Esq. to the Church of Medbourn in Leicestershire. This *Henry Neville* was also a friend of Dr. Fuller and a benefactor to his work upon the *Holy Land*, and, accordingly, his arms are engraved on our author's map of Egypt in that work. Bishop Williams made Dr. Ferne Archdeacon of Leicester. He was ever a constant and laborious preacher; and having suffered in the royal cause, was, on the Restoration, made master of Trinity College, Cambridge, Prebendary and then Dean of Ely, and in 1662 Bishop of Chester, but died five weeks after his promotion to that see.

Whilst at Sidney Sussex College, Fuller had for his companion and fellow-lodger or *chum*, Rowland Litton, Knt. of Knebworth near Stevenage.* Sir Rowland Litton, or Lytton, was of a family settled at Knebworth at least by the time of Henry VIII, in the 37th year of whose reign we find Robert Lytton sheriff for the county of Hertford. This family came from another of the same name in Derbyshire. Sir Rowland was born in 1615, and was son of Sir William, sheriff of the county in the first year both of James and Charles I. His grandfather Sir Rowland was lieutenant of Hertfordshire,

* Rolandus Lytton admissus est Pensionarius major Jan. 24, an. 1631, an. nat. 18. *Regist. Col. Sid. Suss.*

and led the county forces to the camp at Tilbury in 1588. Our Sir Rowland's father dying in 1660, he succeeded to the estate of Knebworth. He was M. P. for the county of Hertford in the Parliament of the 12th of Charles II., called the Healing Parliament; Sheriff of the county in the 14th of the same reign, and many years a Justice of the Peace, and Deputy Lieutenant. He married Judith, the youngest daughter of Humphrey Edwards, a merchant of London and of Chelsea. This lady died before him, May 14, 1659, aged forty-five years. He died Nov. 1, 1674, and was buried at Knebworth on the 3rd of that month. The family-name became extinct in the last century, and the estate came by marriage to William Earl Bulwer of Heydon Hall, Suffolk, by Elizabeth-Barbara, daughter of Richard Warburton, who took the surname of Lytton. A modern-gothic mansion stands on the site of the antient seat, which was of considerable extent and partly embattled.*

Fuller has perpetuated his early friendship with Sir Rowland Lytton by dedicating to him the fourth section of his History of the University of Cambridge.†

Return we in the next chapter from the friends of our author in the University to himself, who for three years officiated in it, and there probably laid the foundation of his "Pisgah-Sight" and "Holy War."

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* *Chauncy's* and *Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire.*

† Sir Rowland's father Sir William Lytton, was one of the Parliamentary Committee sent to treat with the king at Oxford, January, 1643.

CHAPTER III.

Dr. Fuller's preaching at Cambridge.

FULLER was in 1630 presented by the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College to the perpetual Curacy of St. Bene't, Cambridge. In this Church he appears to have preached his *Lectures on the Book of Ruth*, which he published in 1654, that it might not be done by other hands from the imperfect notes which had been taken by some who heard them. In the Epistle Dedicatory he observes, "They were preached in an eminent place, when I first entered into the ministry above twenty years since."* Of this book "the first chapter," he saith, "sheweth that many are the troubles of the righteous, and the three last do shew that God delivereth them out of all."

Perhaps there are few instances which so strikingly illustrate the great design of Scripture,—that it should bear witness to Christ,—than this book;

* In p. 42 he speaks of Gustavus Adolphus King of Sweden as then living, so that, these sermons were preached some time before, 1632, the year of that famous Prince's decease.

few more striking instances how events apparently the most private, and, to the eye of the world, unimportant, are all included in the divine purposes, and made in their place subservient to that eternal wisdom which disposes all the hearts and ways of men. Fuller accordingly does not fail to notice that but for this book genealogists had been at a loss for four or five descents in deducing the genealogy of our Saviour; and that under the conversion of Ruth the Moabitess, and her reception into the ancestry of the Son of David, is typified the taking of the Gentiles into the sheepfold of the great Shepherd. The lectures include only the two first chapters, and are not unworthy the author of the "Holy State." They evince that moderation, that benevolence, and that practical piety which ever characterized their author. The following extracts will possess a double interest, as being the first-fruits of one so ingenious.

"Bear with patience light afflictions, when God afflicteth his children with long lasting punishments. Mutter not for a burning fever of a fortnight: what is this to the woman that had a running issue for twelve years? Murmur not for a twelvemonth's quartan ague; 'tis nothing to the woman that was bowed for eighteen years; nor seven year's consumption, to the man that lay thirty-eight years lame at the pool of Bethesda."*

"Many men have had affliction, none like Job; many women have had tribulation, none like Naomi."†

"This was the privilege of the people of the Jews,

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* p. 30. † p. 33.

that they were styled God's people, but now Ammi is made Lo-Ammi,* and Ruchama, Lo-Ruchama; and we the Gentiles are placed in their room; let us therefore remember the words of St. Paul, *Rom.* xi. 21. *Be not highminded but fear, for if God spared not the natural branches of the olive, fear that he will not spare thee also.*

"O that He would be pleased to cast his eye of pity upon the poor Jews, which for 1500 years and upwards have wandered without law, without lord, without land, and, as once they were, so once again to make them his people."†

Men are ever prone to extremes. Not a few well-meaning persons and sincerely attached to the doctrines of the Church of England still seem to pride themselves in a certain degree of nonconformity, and in a vague depreciation of the Fathers without any respect to their peculiar merit as the depositaries of cotemporary history both civil and ecclesiastical, as early and faithful apologists, proving in their own persons the early acknowledgment of the great principle that Jesus was the end of prophecy; to say nothing of their witness against the corruptions of later times, their unrivalled eloquence, their familiar acquaintance with the scriptures, and the fact that it pleased divine Providence by their works to facilitate the labours of the Reformers, and to furnish them with weapons both offensive and defensive in that truly sacred war by which they recovered to the world the doctrine of the Word of God.

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* Hosea i. 9, and 6. † p. 39.

The Reformers may be said indeed as a body to have come forth out of the school of St. Augustine, that Father, whose piety and fervour have engaged the hearts of all who have looked into his pages. In our own day he has found an advocate, where perhaps many would not have looked for one, in Dr. Waddington, who, though probably no predestinarian, has dealt with the name of Augustine in a spirit of candour that cannot be too highly commended.*

The Reformers, whilst they appealed to all the Fathers, as witnesses against the great corruptions of the Romish Church, made especial use of St. Augustine. They admitted that the Fathers, though they retained the doctrines of justification by Faith only, and of the Atonement, had in their controversies with the heathen, inclined to philosophize and pelagianize, as was the saying of Bishop Cox. Even Montagu, in his *Appello Cæsarem*, does not profess to justify all their expressions on the power of the will. St. Augustine, then, the Reformers contended, had drank more deeply than not a few both before and since his day, into the true meaning, and into the deep mysteries of scripture. There they found the great principle of the Reformation, the ascribing all glory to God. There they found at once that truth which they applied fearlessly to the mystery of iniquity, until they exposed, and by the aid of the Truth himself overthrew it. No wonder then, that in our homilies,† a preference

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* See his *Hist. of the Church*, pp. 170—172, vol. i. 1831.

† "St. Augustine, the best learned of all ancient doc-

is expressly asserted for this second apostle of grace, this fervent, humble, and most exemplary, of the ancient Fathers and Doctors. And if we consider, how far more animating, how far more happy and heavenly-minded the whole tone of St. Augustine, in comparison of the great favourite of the moderns, St. Chrysostom, we shall not be surprised to find in St. Augustine a clearer knowledge of divine things, a closer assimilation to the teaching of the Apostles. Well was it then for the Church of England, that "the influence of St. Augustine has descended through the Reformers to us and to our church." *

Those who prefer the study of the Greek Fathers to the scriptures, and who profess to believe the scriptures according to a system gathered principally out of them, would caution their followers against too great a regard for St. Augustine.† His peculiarities are to them as unwelcome as the term "Protestant." For they breathe not the same air; they live not on the same food; they work not from the same motives; it is not with them, Grace awakening love. But this is not all; these who profess thus to have no faith of their own, have taken up rather with the later than the earlier Fathers;‡ have disingenuously discarded them upon the great doctrine of justification; have also deserted them in their doctrine of the sufficiency of the scriptures; have

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tors." *Second Part of the Sermon against Peril of Idolatry. Homilies.* p. 209. London. Rivingtons, 1825.

* *Dr. Pusey's Preface to the Confessions of St. Augustine,* Oxf. 1838, p. xxi.

† *Ibid.* p. xvii.

‡ See *Faber's Provincial Letters,* vol. ii.

mixed up the errors of the later and darker ages with their eclectic theology; and have created a prejudice with the ignorant against the Fathers, by calling themselves what they are not, patristic divines. They are simply *semi-Romanists*, and are now indeed beginning openly to disavow the principles of the English Reformation.*

But the true *Via Media* avoids both these extremes. In that way Fuller walked. He did not elevate Whitaker or Calvin, or any of their cotemporaries, as his sole masters, to the disparaging of the "old Fathers and Doctors." Herein he was unlike those who are content to draw all their information from Scott or Owen, or some Father of the later ages. Only change the names, and the same deference is paid to the *recent* by some, as to the more ancient *Fathers* by others. Nor did he profess to believe second-hand, as though the scriptures could only be seen through the medium of many and voluminous writings of comparatively later date. He, with the early divines of our church, professed to venerate what in the ancients was worthy of veneration, but to judge of them and of their works, as St. Augustine tells us, he himself did of St. Cyprian and of all his predecessors, by the scriptures.

Accordingly, if some men conceived prejudices against what the Fathers and our own church prac-

* "And as we go on, we must recede more and more from the principles, if any such there be, of the English Reformation."—*Brit. Critic*, p. 45. June, 1841.

tised, because it bore a remote resemblance in their eyes to this or that ill practice of the Church of Rome; Fuller did not follow them herein, as though they were in the place of the Fathers, which indeed these modern lights would most gladly be esteemed. So he observes of commemoration of the dead: "It is no popery, nor superstition, to praise God for the happy condition of his servants departed; the ancient patriarchs, the inspired prophets, the holy apostles, the patient martyrs, the religious confessors. When the tribe of Reuben, Gad, and half Manasses erected the altar ED* at the passage over Jordan, it startled all the rest of the tribes, as if under it they had hatched some superstitious design; whereas, indeed, the altar was not intended for sacrifice, but was merely an altar of memorial, to evidence to posterity that these two tribes and a half, (though divided from the rest by the river Jordan) were conjoined with them in the worship of the same God. In like manner, when some ministers† thank God for the departure of his servants, some people are so weak, and some so wilful to condemn such for passages of popery, as if superstitious prayers were made for their departure; whereas, indeed, such congratulation, on the contrary, speaks our confidence in their present bliss and happiness, and continueth the church militant with the church triumphant, as the completing one entire catholic church of Jesus Christ."‡

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* *Ed*, a witness, the altar of testimony.—*Josh.* xxii. 10.

† Probably in the *Bidding Prayer*. ‡ P. 67.

Most characteristic of their author are the following passages selected from these lectures.

"The monument less subject to casualty is, to imitate the virtues of our dead friends; in other *tombs* the dead are preserved; in these, they may be said to remain alive." *

"Always preserve in thyself an awful fear, lest thou shouldst fall away from God. Fear to fall, and Assurance to stand, are two sisters; and though Cain said, he was not his brother's keeper, sure I am, that this Fear doth watch and guard her sister Assurance: *Tantus est gradus certitudinis, quantus sollicitudinis.* They that have much of this fear, have much certainty; they that have little, little certainty; they that have none, have none at all." †

"Oh that there were such an holy ambition and heavenly emulation in our hearts; that as Peter and John ran a race which should come first to the grave of our Saviour; so men would contend, who should first attain to true mortification." ‡

"After proof and trial made of their fidelity, we are to trust our brethren without any farther suspicion. Not to try before we trust, is want of wisdom. Not to trust after we have tried, is want of charity." §

Ruth, ii. 20. "Naomi never before made any mention of Boaz, nor of his good deeds; but now, being informed of his bounty to Ruth, it puts her in mind of his former courtesies. Learn from hence new favours cause a fresh remembrance of former

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* P. 67. † P. 86. ‡ P. 90. § P. 112.

courtesies. Wherefore, if men begin to be forgetful of those favours which formerly we have bestowed upon them, let us flourish and varnish over our old courtesies with fresh colours of new kindnesses; so shall we recall our past favours to their memories."*

"If envy, and covetousness, and idleness, were not the hinderances, how might one Christian reciprocally be a help unto another! all have something; none have all things: yet all might have all things in a comfortable and competent proportion, if seriously suiting themselves as Ruth and Naomi did, that what is defective in one, might be supplied in the other." †

In the register of St. Benet's parish is entered the burial of the most illustrious of *carriers*, Mr. Thomas Hobson, January 12, 1631. Cambridge will ever have cause to perpetuate his memory. Milton wrote an epitaph for him, as those lines have been styled, lines which, as they sport with death, are to be regretted as a serious folly, every way unworthy of so great a name. For himself, Hobson raised a monument in his life-time, the conduit which he erected in 1614.

On June 16, Fuller being then but twenty-three years old, was presented by his uncle, Dr. Davenant, Bishop of Sarum, to the prebendal stall of *Netherbury in Ecclesiâ* in the church of Sarum. This stall is endowed with the impropriation of Netherbury, in the Hundred of Beaminster and county of Dorset.

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* P. 206. † P. 223.

In this same year appeared our author's first publication, a poem entitled "David's Hainous Sinne, Heartie Repentance, Heavie Punishment." As it is more curious than important, I refer the reader to the Biographia Britannica, where he will find it reviewed at some length in the notes to the author's memoir. This poem is dedicated in the quaint style of the age and person, to the Honourable Mr. Edward, Mr. William, and Mr. Christopher Montagu, sons to the Right Honourable Edward Lord Montagu of Boughton.

With Edward, the eldest son of the first Lord Montagu of Boughton, Fuller was personally acquainted from his residence in the same college; for Edward, afterward Lord Montagu, was admitted as a fellow-commoner of Sidney College on March 2, this same year (1631.) His noble parent, who was indeed a type of the old English Baron for hospitality and true patriotism, died in 1646, in the Savoy, then a prison to which the Loyalists were committed by the Parliamentarians. Fuller describes him as a pious, peaceable, and hospitable patriot, no seeker of popularity, but a lover of a quiet and country life.

He founded two scholarships at Sidney Sussex College, the first Master of which on its foundation was his brother James, successively, Bishop of Bath and Wells and of Winchester.* He also

* "James Montagu, son to Sir Edward Montagu, knt. was born at Boughton in this county; [Northamptonshire] bred in Christ College, in Cambridge. He was afterward

built and endowed an almshouse at Weekly, near Boughton. By his will he directs his body to be buried in Weekly Church, near to his second sweet faithful companion, (Frances, daughter of Thomas Cotton, Esq. of Conington, near Elsworth, Huntingdonshire) ordering a monument to be erected

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Master [the first] or rather *Nursing Father* to Sidney College; [1595-1608] for he found it in *bonds* to pay twenty marks *per annum* to Trinity College, for the ground whereon it is built; and left it *free*, assigning it a rent for the discharge thereof." Fuller records both in his 'Worthies;' and in his 'History of the University of Cambridge,' how this prelate expended a hundred marks to bring running water into the King's Ditch to the great conveniency of the University.

On the death of Dr. George Boleyn, Prebendary of Canterbury and Chichester, and dean of Lichfield, Montagu was preferred to that deanery, and installed July 16, 1603. On the death of Dr. Eedes, dean of Worcester, he was presented to the deanery of Worcester, Dec. 20, 1604; being succeeded at Lichfield by Dr. William Tooker, prebendary of Sarum, of whom see an account in *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses*. On the death of Bishop Still, Dr. Montagu was made Bishop of Bath and Wells; Dr. Lake succeeding him as dean of Worcester, and also as Bishop of Bath and Wells, in 1616, when he was upon the death of Bishop Bilson translated to Winchester, "being," says Fuller, "highly in favour with King James, who did ken a man of merit as well as any prince in Christendom. He translated the works of King James into Latin, and improved his greatness to do good offices therewith. He died anno domini 1618; [being succeeded at Winton by the great Bishop Andrewes] and lieth buried within his *fair monument*, within his *fairer monument;* I mean a *goodly tomb* in the church of Bath, which oweth its well-being and beauty to his munificence."—*Fuller's Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 164.

for himself and her, as he had set up one for his first wife, at Chittingleigh, in Sussex.*

Christopher, his youngest son, never married.†

His eldest son, Edward, succeeded him in 1646, as second Lord Montagu of Boughton. He was nominated by the House of Lords with the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, to receive the King's person from the Scots and to conduct him to Holdenby House. But he opposed the bringing his

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* *Fuller's Worthies, Northamptonshire*, p. 293. *Bridge's Northamptonshire*, ii. p. 351.

† Of Lord Chief Justice Montagu, the grandfather of the first Lord Montagu, see *Sir J. Macintosh's Hist. of England* (vol. ii. pp. 280-283.) Of his signing the articles of succession in favour of Lady Jane Grey, see his own account communicated to Fuller by Edward, first Lord Montagu, and published in his *Ch. Hist.* b. viii. pp. 1-5. Edward Lord Montagu's father was M.P. for Northamptonshire, and Sheriff in the twelfth of Queen Elizabeth. He died at Boughton, Jan. 26, 1601, and was buried near his father in Weekly Church. Besides his eldest son, Edward first Lord Montagu, he had James, Bishop of Winchester, and Dean of the King's Chapel; Sir Walter Montagu, Knt.; Henry, the first Lord Montagu of Kimbolton, Viscount Mandeville and Earl of Manchester; Sir Charles of Cranbrook, in the parish of Barking, Essex; and Sir Sidney, Master of Requests to Charles I. who married Paulina, third daughter of *John Pepys, Esq.* of Cottenham, Cambridgeshire. To the honor of the late Lord Chancellor, Baron Cottenham, be it recorded that he most handsomely presented to the Vicarage of St. Neot's, Huntingdonshire, the present most deservedly esteemed incumbent, without regard to those inferior motives which too often sway such appointments.

unhappy monarch to trial, and both himself and his sons heartily engaged in the restoration of Charles II. He married Anne, sole daughter, and at length heir to Sir Ralph Winwood, Knt. of Ditton Park, in Buckinghamshire, principal Secretary of State to James I. and author of the "Memorials." This lady was biassed in favour of the Puritans, and against the Liturgy, wherefore her faithful and honest father-in-law, (the first Lord Montagu) who had the Common Prayer read daily in his house morning and evening, said to her, "Daughter, if you come to visit me, I will never ask why you come not to prayers; but if you come to cohabit with me, pray with me, or live not with me."* The second Lord Montagu, her husband, was a most devoted friend of Fuller in his troubles, and provided at his own cost for the education of his elder son, a kindness which he acknowledges in a dedication to his son Edward in the Map of Jerusalem that accompanies his "Palestine,"

His Lordship's brother William was appointed Attorney General to Queen Catharine, and also Chief Baron of the Exchequer by Charles II. His first wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph Freeman, of Aspeden, Herts. She died in 1647. He then married a daughter of Sir John Aubrey, bart. whom also he survived, and died in 1707.†

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* This lady was buried in St. Bartholomew's the Less, London.

† To the Hon. William Montagu, Fuller dedicated his map of the Land of Moriah, in his "Pisgah-Sight."

To his son Edward, Fuller dedicated his account of the reign of Charles I. in his "Church History," memorializing the merits of his ancestors in the dedication.

He was slain in a naval conflict in the attack of the Dutch East India fleet, in the port of Bergen, in Norway, in 1665, being then but in his twenty-fifth year. His brother Ralph, a benefactor also to the publication of Fuller's "Pisgah-Sight," ennobled himself by his patriotic zeal in rescuing his country from the tyranny of Romanism, and was in 1689 created Viscount Monthermer and Earl of Montagu, in the county of Somerset.

In 1695, King William honoured him with a visit at his seat at Boughton. In 1705, he was created Duke of Montagu by Queen Anne. He died in 1708.

Thus much of this noble family, too highly esteemed by Fuller to pass unnoticed in these pages.

In 1632, on February 7, our author's younger brother was admitted of Sidney Sussex College. He proceeded B.A. in 1635, and M.A. in 1639, being then twenty-four years old.*

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* By the *notice* of him in the books of Sidney Sussex College, it appears that he was about a year at the Grammar School, Oundle, under Mr. Samuel Cobb; he then spent some time at Aldwinckle St. Peter's, in a private school, under one Archibald Simmers, a Scot, and lastly, studied about a year and more at Over Dean and at Sutton, Bedfordshire, under Mr. Joseph Kemp.

Samuel Cobb was B.A. of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1614, and M.A. 1618. Joseph Kemp was B.A. of Christ College, 1625, and M.A. 1629.

About April 1632 Fuller's father died, for on the last day of that month John Webster B.D. was instituted to the Rectory of St. Peter's, Aldwinckle.

In 1633, amongst the baptisms in Fuller's parish of St. Benet, occurs the name of Thomas Wheelock, son of Mr. Abraham Wheelock, minister, baptized March the 20th.

In June, Fuller appears to have resigned the church of St. Benet, for by the third of July, Mr. Edward Palgrave, fellow and tutor of Corpus Christi College, was inducted to the living. He was of the county of Norfolk, and was ejected from his fellowship April 8, 1644, by the Earl of Manchester.

In 1634, Fuller preached a sermon at Cambridge on the *Doctrine of Assurance*. It was not indeed printed until 1648. "This grace of assurance," he observes, "is not attainable with ease and idleness. Christianity is a laborious profession." After various illustrations of this topic, he lays down as the plain doctrine of the text, (2 *Pet.* i. 10) that assurance of one's calling and election may, without any miraculous revelation, be in this life acquired; se-

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"William Laxton, son to John Laxton of Oundle, was bred a grocer in London, where he so prospered by his painful endeavours, that he was chosen Lord Mayor A.D. 1544. He founded a fair school and almshouse at Oundle, with convenient maintenance, well maintained at this day by the worshipful company of Grocers; and hath been, to my knowledge, the nursery of many scholars most eminent in the University." He died A.D. 1556, July 29, and lieth buried under a fair tomb, in the chancel of St. Antony's, London. *Worthies*, vol. ii. Ed. *Nichols*, p. 173.

condly, that such assurance is a separable fruit or effect, not of every true, but only of some strong faiths, whereby the party is persuaded of the certainty of his calling and election. "I say, separable, to manifest my dissenting from such worthy divines, who make this assurance to be the very being, essence, life, soul, and formality of faith itself. Whence these two opinions as false as dangerous must of necessity be inferred, first, that every one who hath true faith, and is eternally to be saved, hath *always* some measure of this assurance: secondly, that such who are devoid of this assurance, are likewise deprived of all sincere faith for the present. But God forbid any preacher should deliver doctrines so destructive to Christian comfort on the one side and advantageous to spiritual pride on the other. Such will prove *carnificinæ*, the racks and tortures of tender consciences. And as the careless mother killed her little child, for she overlaid it, so the weight of this heavy doctrine would press many poor but pious souls; many faint but feeble infant-faiths to the pit of despair, exacting and extorting from them more than God requires,—that every faith should have assurance with it, or else be ineffectual to salvation."

He then proceeds to state the proper ground of assurance, which he does in a syllogism.

"*The Major.*

"He that truly repenteth himself of his sins, and relieth with a true faith upon Christ, is surely called,

and by consequence elected before all eternity to be a vessel of honour."

"*The Minor.*

"But I truly repent myself of my sins, and rely with a true faith on God in Christ."

"*The Conclusion.*

"Therefore, I am truly called and elected," &c.

To arrive at such an assurance, we must have, he adds, the testimony of our conscience to the truth of our repentance and sincerity of our faith: secondly, the witness of the Holy Spirit (*Rom.* viii. 16). "Now we must with sorrow confess that this doctrine of the Spirit dwelling in the hearts of God's servants, is much discountenanced of late, and the devil thereupon hath improved his own interest. To speak plainly, it is not the fierceness of the lion, nor the fraud of the fox, but the mimicalness of the ape, which in our age hath discredited the undoubted truth. But what if the apes in India finding a glow-worm, mistook it to be true fire, and heaping much combustible matter about it, hoped by their blowing of it, thence to kindle a flame; I say, what, if that animal γελωτόποιον, that mirth-making creature deceived itself, doth it thence follow that there is no true fire at all? And what if some *fanatical anabaptists* by usurpation have entitled their brainsick fancies to be so many illuminations of the Spirit, must we presently turn Sadducees in this point, and deny that there is any Spirit at all? God forbid."

This Sadduceeism led some learned writers of the last century to explain of the extraordinary operations of the Holy Spirit, all that is found in the epistles of the witness of the Spirit. Thus did they attempt to overthrow what they regarded as the fanaticism of Whitfield, but with the most Christian gentleness, and with ability perhaps rarely surpassed, did he unravel and detect all the sophistry of his antagonists.

The Church of Rome, as she is the mystery of iniquity, so she has a double answer always at hand. Some have concluded that she allows this doctrine of the assurance of salvation. But certainly she anathematizes all such as would without a special revelation, apply the belief of the gift of final perseverance to themselves.*

"The third and last witness we will insist on," adds our author, "is that comfort and contentment the conscience of the party takes in doing good works, and bringing forth the fruits of new obedience; that though he knows his best good works are straitened with corruptions and many imperfections, yet because they are the end of his vocation, and the justifiers of his faith; because thereby the gospel is graced, wicked men amazed, some of them converted, the rest confounded; weak Christians confirmed, the poor relieved, devils repining at them, angels rejoicing for them, God himself glorified by them; I say, because of these and other reasons, he doth good deeds with humility and

* *Council of Trent*, Sess. vi. Canon 16.

cheerfulness, and findeth a singular joy in his soul resulting from the doing thereof."

Had the same comprehensiveness been preserved by all who delighted to dwell upon the doctrine of assurance, it would not, with the system of which it forms a part, have been so misconceived of at least in the minds of many; it would not have been made such a handle of presumption. Those who are so taken up in handling the gospel as to leave no place for the law; so full of comfort as to leave no room for instruction; so given to recur to the promises as to forget or perhaps ignorantly to condemn the enforcing of the commandments, lead their followers into the worst kind of assurance, and nourish spiritual pride both in themselves and others.

Fuller speaks of some who depart in doubt, and yet of whom he saith, that there could be no doubt with respect to the sincerity of their piety. A weak faith indeed there may be, and inward joy and light may know their declensions, and the very weakness of the body may affect our spirits, and our spirits will affect our thoughts, and call up a sad company of melancholy images.

But, surely the general rule is, that godly sorrow will not be without inward peace, and peace with God cannot but at times bring joy after it, and the gifts of heavenly grace will awaken thankfulness. This is the *rule*. Accordingly, our author himself admirably observes in this sermon; "All heavenly gifts as they are got by prayer, are kept, confirmed, and increased by praises."

"Presumption," he remarks, "is hot poison; it kills its thousands, makes quick riddance of men's souls to damnation. Despair, we confess, is poison, and hath killed its thousands, but the venom thereof is more curable, as more cold and faint in the operation thereof. Take heed, therefore, of presumption, lest the confidence of *the assurance of thy calling* betray thee to spiritual pride, that to security, that to destruction."

Such faithful preaching is but too unfashionable. Yet what but presumption is likely to ensue in those congregations which are always cloyed with cordials? What other effect is likely to attend the facile labours of those, all whose looks are smiles, and whose preaching is a perpetual canticle; who are ever wooing their congregations, thus abusing that much misquoted precedent of him who became all things to all men that he might save some; him who as sternly rebuked hypocrisy and worldly compliances, as he tenderly consoled the dejected and condescended to the weak.

CHAPTER IV.

Dr. Fuller removes to Broad-Windsor.

THE paternal kindness of Bishop Davenant was again evinced in his nephew Fuller's behalf, whom in 1634, he collated to the Rectory of Broad Windsor, near Beaminster in the county of Dorset. The parish of Broad Windsor consisting for the most part of a rich vale of meadows and orchards, watered by small brooks and bounded by bold hills, (of which Leweston and Pillesdon are well-known,) is from five to six miles in length, and from two to three in breadth. The village is nearly at the south-east extremity.

The church is of an ancient period, probably about the beginning of the thirteenth century. It was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and consists of a nave, aisles, chancel, and a tower with a turret at one corner. In the north aisle are two altar-tombs, and near them in a niche a piscina. The pulpit is very old, but its carvings disfigured by sundry coatings of paint.

Whilst at Broad Windsor, Fuller was on terms of intimacy with the family of the Drakes, descendants of the famous Sir Francis Drake. To this family belonged the manor of Childhay, until about the beginning of the reign of Charles I. Henry Drake, called in Fuller's Life of Sir Francis * his "dear and worthy parishioner," married Amy, widow of Sir Arthur Champernoun. He died in 1640, and his widow in 1645.† Now also Fuller probably became acquainted with the Rev. Robert Gomersall, Vicar of Thorncombe, on the borders of Devon. He was a native of London, and studied at Christ Church, Oxford, of which college he was B.D. 1628. He was a poet of some note in his own times, and contributed some laudatory verses to Fuller's *Holy War*.

Amongst his friends also was Dr. Gilbert Ironside, Rector of Winterbourn Stapleton cum Winterbourn Abbot's, and, at the Restoration, Bishop of Bristol. His son of the same name, Warden of Wadham College, was raised by William III. to the same bishopric; also, Sir Thomas Trenchard; Hugh Wyndham, Bart. of Pilsden Court; Sir Gerard Napier;‡ Gregory Browne, ancestor of Sir Robert

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* *Holy State*, B. ii. p. 129, 3rd Ed.

† *Hutchins' Dorset*, i. p. 608.

‡ Sir Gerard Napier, of Middlemarsh Hall, was created a baronet June 25, 1641. He married Margaret, daughter of John Colles or Coles, Esq. of Pitminster in Somersetshire. His estates in Dorset and Kent were sequestered in 1645. He entertained the King at More Critchell in 1665. He died in 1673.

Browne, Bart. M.P. for Ilchester, who died 1760; and John Fitzjames,* Esq. of Leweston, four miles south of Sherborne. Sir Thomas Trenchard took part with the Parliamentarians; Sir Gerard Napier suffered greatly in the royal cause.

In 1635, Fuller revisited Cambridge to take his first degree in divinity. "Having taken care," says his anonymous biographer, "to supply his place for the time of his absence, at his setting forth he was acquainted, that four of his chief parishioners, with his good leave, were ready to wait on him to Cambridge, to testify their exceeding engagements; it being the sense and request of his whole parish. This kindness was so present and so resolutely pressed, that the Doctor with many thanks for that and other demonstrations of their love towards him, gladly accepted of their company, and with his customary innate pleasantness entertained their time to the journey's end.

"At this commencement there proceeded with him in the same degree of Bachelor of Divinity three other reverend persons, all with general applause and commendation; and therefore, to do them no wrong, I forbear to give the deceased Doctor his particular due. Only thus much by the way may be added, that this commencement cost the Doctor for his particular the sum of seven score pounds, an evidence of his liberality and

* He was the son of Sir John Fitzjames, and died the year before his father, 1669, and was buried in the ante-choir of the Temple Church.

largeness of mind proportionable to his other capacities, and yet, than which, nothing was less studied.*

"At his departure he was dismissed with as honourable valedictions, and so he returned in the same company (who had out of their own purse contributed another addition of honour to that solemnity) to his said rectory at Broad Windsor, resolving there to spend himself and the time of his pilgrimage amongst his dear and loving charge."

By the *University Subscriptions* it appears that Fuller took the degree of B.D. on the 11th of June 1635; and that not three, but double that number took the same degree on that day; John Cornelius, B.D. of Pembroke College; John Vaughan, B.D. fellow of Pembroke College, and ejected thence by the Parliamentarians; John Novell, also of Pembroke College; Gavin Nash, also of that foundation; John Philips, of Magdalen College; George Kindleton, of Jesus College, and Godfrey Rodes, of Sidney College.

John Cornelius was, on the Restoration, made D.D. by royal mandate, and Prebendary of North Kelsey, in the church of Lincoln, and died in 1674, being Vicar of Clavering in Essex. He was previously to the Restoration, Rector of Bildeston in Suffolk, June 1637, and of Helmingham, in the same county, in January 1639.

John Novell, whilst keeping his Act on this oc-

* On April 29, 1647, a statute was made to abolish the feasts formerly given upon the taking of degrees.

casion was publicly reproved by Dr. Ward, for his *novel* theology; he was of the school of Laud, and was chaplain to Bishop Wren. He was instituted to Walton and Felixstow, Suffolk, in March 1635; and collated by Bishop Wren to the rectory of Topcroft in Norfolk, 1636, to that of Downham near Ely in 1639, and to Northwold in Norfolk in 1644. He died before the Restoration; and in June 1661, Dr. Wren was instituted to his living of Northwold.

John Philips, B.D. of Magdalen College, was Vicar of Aylsham, Norfolk, whence he was ejected in 1644, but restored in 1661. The only person who can compare with Fuller for celebrity, of all those who at different seasons proceeded to the degree of B.D. in 1635, was Edmund Castell, of Emmanuel College, the compiler of the Lexicon Heptaglotton.

Return we now from this most costly commencement to Broad Windsor, with worthy Master Fuller. And there we may imagine him industriously preparing his once popular history of the Crusades.

The "History of the Holy War" is dated from Broad Windsor, March 6, 1639, and is dedicated to Edward Lord Montagu, of Boughton, and John Lord Poulett of Hinton St. George in Somersetshire. The noble family of Poulett have been settled at Hinton St. George from the reign of Henry VI. Fuller's patron was the son of Sir Anthony Poulett, Governor of Jersey, was raised to the peerage in 1627, and faithfully served his

sovereign in the civil wars. Fuller was, with other of his brethren who adhered to the then despised doctrines of the Reformation, happy in the high esteem and cordial friendship of this illustrious family, especially of Lady Poulett.* Her husband died March 20, 1649. Fuller dedicated to this lady the 5th section of his *History of Abbies* in the *Church History*, and in a strain of gratitude that only the most unfeigned friendship could have drawn forth. In his "British Worthies" he records that, at her suggestion, Lord Poulett presented to his living of Lympsham, Dr. William Sclater of King's College, son of Antony Sclater, for fifty years incumbent of Leighton Buzzard.

Fuller's anonymous biographer acquaints us that in the retirement of Broad Windsor, he prepared his "Pisgah-Sight," a work abounding with interest and, for the time in which it appeared, of no common value. "In the amenity and retirements of this rural life, some perfection was given to those pieces which soon after blest this age. From this pleasant prospect he drew that excellent piece of the *Holy Land*, *Pisgah-Sight*, and other tracts relating thereto; so that what was said bitterly of some tyrants, that they made whole countries vast solitudes and deserts, may be inverted to the eulogy of this Doctor, that he in these recesses, made deserts—the solitudes of Israel, the frequented

* Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Christopher Ken, Esq. of Ken Court.

path and track of all ingenious and studious persons."*

In the course of this (1639) or the following year, Fuller appears to have been on a visit at Norwich; writing in 1660 he thus describes it; "The cathedral therein is large and spacious, though the roof in the cloisters be most commended. When some *twenty* years since, I was there, the top of the steeple was blown down; and an officer of the church told me, 'that the wind had done them much wrong, but they meant not to put it up,' whether the wrong or the steeple, he did not declare.

"Amongst private houses, the Duke of Norfolk's palace is the greatest I ever saw in a city, out of London. Here is a covered bowling-alley (the first, I believe, of that kind in England) on the same token that when Thomas last Duke of Norfolk was taxed for aspiring (by marriage of the Queen) to the crown of Scotland, he protested to Queen Elizabeth, 'that when he was in his *bowling-alley* at Norwich, he accounted himself as a king in *Scotland*.'†

"As for the *Bishop's Palace*, it was formerly a very fair structure, but lately *unleaded*, and new covered with tile by the purchasers thereof; whereon a wag not unwittily,

> "Thus palaces are altered; we saw
> John Leyden, now Wat Tyler, next Jack Straw."

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* *Life of Dr. Fuller*, p. 12, London 1661.

† *Camden's Elizabeth*, anno 1569.

"Indeed there be many thatched houses in the city, so that Luther (if summoned by the Emperor to appear in this place) would have altered his expression, and said instead of 'tiles of the houses,' that, 'if every straw on the roofs of the houses were a devil, notwithstanding he would make his appearance.' However such thatch is so artificially done (even sometimes on their *chancels*) that it is no eyesore at all to the city."*

The Duke of Norfolk's Palace was in the following century fallen into decay, and "the stabling which might, for the grandeur of its building, be turned into a palace, is now (1746) the city workhouse, and is only parted from the river by a very large garden, which used to be kept in good repair, and resorted to by the most fashionable people in the city."†

Since that period, the whole site has been sold and built on by different proprietors. So the authors of the *Beauties of England and Wales*, who also inform us that this noble edifice mentioned by Fuller, was commenced on the site of one more antient in the year of grace 1602, by Henry Duke of Norfolk.

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* *Worthies of England*, vol. ii. p. 154. *Ed. Nichols.*

† *Simpson's Compleat English Traveller*, vol. iii. p. 643.

CHAPTER V.

The Convocation of 1640.

IN 1640, Fuller sat in the memorable Convocation of that year, the acts of which the reader will find in *Nalson's Collections*. Both Fuller and Heylyn also have written copiously upon it. I shall not go into a minute account of its proceedings; that would be fitter for a Church History than for a memoir, and would be but wearisome to such as are not professed Church-antiquaries.

On Tuesday, April 14th, the Convocation assembled in the Chapter-house of St. Paul's, and proceeded thence to hear the sermon in the choir. Dr. Turner, Chaplain to Laud, and Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's,* made a Latin sermon from

* Dr. Turner was a native of Reading, and admitted a scholar of St. John's College, Oxford, 1610. Laud made him his domestic Chaplain, Prebendary of Newington, and Chancellor of St. Paul's in 1629, and brought him into the royal favour. So he was made one of the King's Chaplains, D.D. in 1633; went that year with the King to Scotland; and in February 1641, was installed Dean of Rochester, in the place of Dr. Henry King, now Bishop of Chichester.

Matth. x. 16. *Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves.* Toward the close of his sermon he animadverted upon such of the Bishops as followed not closely in the steps of his patron, in pressing conformity strictly, upbraiding them as seekers of popularity, by whose lukewarm courses the other Bishops were unjustly exposed to the charge of tyranny. After the service, Dr. Richard Stewart, Dean of Chichester, was chosen Prolocutor.

On Wednesday the 15th, the Convocation met in Henry VII. Chapel, Westminster. Dr. Stewart was presented by Sheldon to Laud as Prolocutor, and the Archbishop, in a speech of about three quarters of an hour's length, deplored the calamities of the times.

He was also Rector of St. Olave's Southwark. In 1643, the King made him Dean of Canterbury. He was restored to his preferments in 1660, and dying October 8th, 1672, or thereabouts, was buried on the 17th in the Cathedral of Canterbury. He was the father of Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, the non-juror. Dean Turner married Margaret, daughter of Sir Francis Windebanke, Secretary of State to Charles I.

Dr. Richard Stewart, the Prolocutor, was born of a genteel family in Northamptonshire, was a commoner of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, 1608; Fellow of All Soul's College, 1613, D.C.L. 1624; Prebendary of the first stall, Worcester, 1628; Dean of Chichester, 1634; Prebendary of Westminster, 1638; Prebendary of Pancras, 1641, being then also Provost of Eaton, and Dean of the Chapel Royal. He was designed for the Deanery of Westminster, 1645. He went over to Paris, and died there 1651. Ten of his sermons are extant.

The more moderate feared the result of this assembling, lest, untaught by the sad experience of the past, the Primate and his friends should insert into the new canons their obnoxious innovations.

Five canons were made in this convocation previously to the dissolution of parliament. The first, concerning the regal power, appears (according to Heylyn) not to have been considered until after the dissolution of parliament. That which is reckoned the third was first treated of, *for suppressing the further growth of Popery, and reducing Papists to the Church.* But this was suddenly withdrawn for revision; the Convocation proceeding with the second, *for the better keeping of the day of his Majesty's most happy inauguration.* For the reduction of the Papists, conferences were to be appointed to which they were to be compelled to come. Recusants were to be excommunicated and prosecuted in the High Commission Court, and to be forbidden to keep school. Another canon was passed to check Socinianism, which appears to have increased more rapidly in this reign than under the sway of those doctrines which had been depressed by Laud and his followers in the new light of the pretended *Via Media.*

This canon was followed by another *against Sectaries,* Anabaptists, Brownists, Separatists, Familists, and depravers of the Liturgy, and against their books, and the printers and publishers of them, &c.

So far the Bishops and Clergy had proceeded in the work recommended to them, when the parlia-

ment was most unhappily dissolved. "His Majesty," says Hacket, "had been forewarned by a worthy counsellor, and a dying man, against that error in the Christmas before, *cujus mortem dolor omnium celebrem fecit*, Sym. Ep. p. 11. It was Lord Keeper Coventry, who made but one request with his last breath to the king, and sent it by Mr. James Maxwell of the bedchamber, *that his Majesty would take all distastes from the parliament summoned against April with patience, and suffer it to sit without an unkind dissolution.* But the barking of the living dogs was sooner heard than the groaning of a dying lion; for that parliament ended in a few days, in its infancy, and in its innocency, but the grief for it will never end."*

Parliament was dissolved on Tuesday, May 5th, and on Wednesday the Convocation met, with a general expectation of dissolving also; which would probably have taken place, but that one of the Clergy made the Archbishop acquainted with a precedent in Queen Elizabeth's time, for the granting a subsidy or benevolence by convocation, to be taxed and levied by *synodical* acts and constitutions, without help of the parliament; directing to the records of the Convocation where it was to be found.†

Soon after this, a new commission was brought from his Majesty, "by virtue whereof," says Fuller,

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* *Bishop Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams*, Pt. ii. p. 137.

† *Heylyn's Life of Laud*, p. 429.

"we were warranted still to sit, not in the capacity of a Convocation, but of a synod, to prepare our canons for the royal assent thereunto. But Dr. Brownrigg, Dr. Hacket, Dr. Holdsworth, Mr. Warmistre, with others to the number of thirty-six (the whole house consisting of about six score) earnestly protested against the continuance of the Convocation." Amongst these was Fuller himself, but they did not enter a record of their protest, which Fuller acknowledges in his "Appeal of Injured Innocence" to have been an oversight. However, they "importunely pressed that it might sink with the parliament, it being ominous and without precedent, that the one should survive when the other was expired. To satisfy these, an instrument was brought into synod, signed with the hands of the Lord Privy Seal (the Earl of Manchester), the two Chief Justices (Finch and Littleton), and other Judges, justifying our so sitting in the nature of a synod, to be legal, according to the laws of the realm." "This," says our author, "made the aforesaid thirty-six dissenters (though solemnly making their oral protests to the contrary, yet) not to dissever themselves, or enter any act *in scriptis* against the legality of this assembly: the rather, because they hoped to moderate proceedings with their presence. Surely some of their own coat, which since have censured these dissenters for cowardly compliance, and doing no more in this cause, would have done less themselves, if in their condition."

"Now, because great bodies move slowly, and

are fitter to be the consenters to than the contrivers of business, it was thought fit to contract the synod into a select committee of some six and twenty besides the Prolocutor, who were to ripen matters, as to the propounding and drawing up the forms to what should pass, yet, so that nothing should be accounted the act of the House, till thrice (as I take it) publicly voted therein."* Now the canon was passed touching the regal power, affirming the order of Kings to be of divine right, the ordinance of God himself; that the government of the Church belongs in chief to Kings; as also the power to call and dissolve councils both national and provincial; that the assertion of any independent coactive power, either papal or popular, is treason as well against God, as against the King: that for subjects to bear arms against their Kings, either offensive or defensive, is contrary to Scripture; and that the right of the King to all manner of necessary support and supply, and of the subject to his property are not contrary but agreeable, the one to the other. This canon especially provoked the indignation of the parliament at an after period.

Next this assembly adopted an oath obliging the clergy not only to obedience to the then constitution of the Church, but to maintain it without seeking directly or indirectly any alteration in the hierarchical form. This oath was to be taken by members of the Universities, schoolmasters, &c.

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* *Fuller's Ch. Hist.* B. xi. pp. 167, 168.

Then was drawn up "A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies."

In this declaration, it was affirmed that the standing of the Communion Table side-way under the east window of every chancel or chapel, is in its own nature indifferent, but that it is adjudged fit and convenient that all churches and chapels do conform themselves in this particular, to the example of the Cathedral or mother-churches, saving always the general liberty left to the Bishops by law during the time of the administration of the Holy Communion. "And we declare that this situation of the holy table doth not imply that it is or ought to be esteemed a true and proper altar, whereon Christ is again really sacrificed: but it is, and may be called an altar by us, in that sense which the Primitive Church called it an altar, and no other."

The Communion Table was to be railed about to prevent the irreverent use of it, the putting of hats upon it, common amongst those who abhor reverence in worship.

Obeisance is also commended to all upon entering and upon leaving the Church or the Chancel, "according to the most antient custom of the Primitive Church in the purest times, and of this Church also, for many years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The receiving therefore of this antient and laudable custom, we heartily commend to the serious consideration of all good people, not with any intention to exhibit any religious worship to the Communion Table, the east, or Church, or

any thing therein contained, in so doing; or to perform the said gesture in the celebration of the holy eucharist, upon any opinion of the corporal presence of the body of Christ on the holy table, or in the mystical elements: but only for the advancement of God's Majesty, and to give him alone that honour and glory that is due unto him, and no otherwise. And in the practice or omission of this rite we desire that the rule of charity, prescribed by the apostle, may be observed, which is, that they which use this rite, despise not them who use it not; and that they who use it not, condemn not those that use it." This was at least something gained on the side of the less ceremonious party. Time was, when to bow or not to bow was made a more important question.

The most remarkable of the remaining canons were those that were designed to check the ill practices of Bishops' Chancellors, Commissioners, &c.

Heylyn tells us that there had also been "a design in deliberation, touching the drawing and digesting of an *English Pontifical*, to be approved by this Convocation, and tendered to his Majesty's confirmation. Which said *Pontifical* was to contain the form and manner of his Majesty's late coronation, to serve for a perpetual standing rule on the like occasions; another form to be observed by all Archbishops and Bishops, for consecrating Churches, Churchyards, and Chapels; and a third, for reconciling such *penitents* as either had done open penance, or had revolted from the faith

to the law of *Mahomet*. Which three, together with the form of Confirmation, and that of ordering *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*, which were then in force, were to make up the whole body of the book intended." Another scheme that failed was the introduction of the service in Latin into all Colleges and Halls, at least in the morning prayer: so Heylyn appears to intimate.*

The canons were disallowed in the succeeding parliament. The oath also fell to the ground, Sanderson himself being amongst those who regarded the imposition of it as tending to endanger the Church.

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* *Life of Laud*, p. 442.

CHAPTER VI.

Fuller's Joseph's Parti-coloured Coat.

FROM his numerous acquaintance it was impossible but that Fuller must have been well known, and from his indefatigable labours as a student, combined with the powerful recommendation of his ready imagination, his popularity as a preacher was rendered equally certain. Add to this that his sermons had also the charm of truth, so that his popularity was of the highest kind. It did not commence amongst a swarm of butterflies; it grew not up amongst a crowd of itching ears. It was not owing to their defects, but in spite of them, that Fuller and Andrewes and others of the like kind were in such estimation. But it must be allowed that unseasonable as is wit in sacred things, men are every where caught by it in spite of themselves.

Accordingly, when a collection of funeral sermons was published in 1640, Fuller's name appeared amongst the authors. These were Dr. Daniel Featley, Archbishop Abbot's Chaplain, like Fuller abundantly stored with all sorts of illustra-

tions and probably his superior in theological learning; Dr. John Preston the Puritan Master of Emmanuel College; Dr. Martin Day, Chaplain to James I., Rector of St. Faith's, London, and of Stoke near Launceston, an intimate friend of the famous Bishop Hall, to whom he dedicated a volume of sermons; Dr. Richard Holdsworth a friend of Fuller; Dr. Richard Sibbes of St. John's College, some time Master of Catharine Hall, and a writer surpassed by none in that purity and depth of true spirituality which also characterized Leighton in a succeeding age: Dr. Thomas Taylor of Christ College, Cambridge, and Thomas Fuller. Dr. Thomas Taylor's works were much in request in his day. He was born at Richmond in Yorkshire of an old family, was ordained when twenty one years old, and much esteemed as one of the preachers at St. Paul's Cross, in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. He was greatly opposed by Bishop Wren, who is said to have done all in his power to prevent his Doctor's degree. He also fell under the animadversion of Bishop Harsnet, who silenced him. He died of a pleurisy at Isleworth aged 56 years, and was buried in St. Mary, Aldermanbury. Of the Sermons in this volume (Θρηνοικος The House of Mourning furnished), those entitled "Death's Prerogative," "Patriarchal Funeral," "True Accountant," "Righteous Man," "Service to this Generation," may perhaps be ascribed to Fuller. Internal evidence would point to the 26th in this collection as our author's. It is entitled "St. Paul's trumpet, or an alarm for sleepy Christians." *Rom.* xii. 11. At

the beginning he introduces the account of St. Augustine's conversion taken from his confessions. The same topic is to be found in his sermon entitled "A glass for gluttons." In this discourse the allusion to sleep is very copiously wrought, and applied both to the sincere and to the merely nominal Christian. In speaking of the *dead* sleep of the world, he brings before us the sleep of idolaters as the Romanists, of adulterers, drunkards, sabbath-breakers, oppressors, and the lukewarm. He enumerates as the signs of their sleep who profess themselves Christians, carelessness, sloth and thoughtlessness, wasting of time, and willing departure from our first zeal, affection, desire, and practice.

The occasion of this sermon is thus touched upon at the end. "This shall suffice for the words; now for our occasion: because this is my first occasion of this kind, I must enter with a preface and that is this: that as I have ever been in the course of my ministry, so shall I be very sparing in the praise of the dead, because I know that these exercises are appointed for the instructing of the living and the consolation of those that survive, and not for the praise and commemoration of the dead.

"Besides, I know and see by daily experience every where, how few there be that in their lifetime deserve the praise of religion in their death. For my part, I never did, nor never will gild a rotten post or a mud wall, or give false witness in praising; to give the praise of religion to those that deserve it not. I desire those of my congregation would make their own funeral sermons while they

be living, by their virtuous life and conversation. As the Apostle saith, 'He hath not praise that is praised of men, but he that is praised of God.'"

Of the rest of this volume the most remarkable sermons are those "Upon Redeeming the Time;" "Spiritual Heart's Ease, or the Way to Tranquillity;" "Faith's Triumph over the greatest trials;" "Peace in Death, or the quiet end of the Righteous;" and "Death in Birth, or, the fruit of Eve's Transgression."

In this same year Fuller published a quarto volume with the quaint title of "Joseph's Parti-coloured Coat," containing a Comment on the 11th chapter of the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, from the eighteenth to the thirty-first verse; and eight sermons. It is dedicated to the Right Worshipful the Lady Jane Covert of Pepper-Harrow* near Godalming, Surrey. The site of the ancient house inhabited by this lady is now that of the noble mansion of Viscount Middleton. Fuller observes in the Dedication, whilst custom has licensed flattery in dedicatory epistles, epitaphs and dedications, he will not follow the stream herein; "First, because I account it beneath my calling, to speak any thing above the truth; secondly, because of you it is needless. Let deformed faces be beholding to the painter: art hath nothing to do, where nature hath prevented it."

Here he gives the ancient definition of heresy

* Her mother was Lady Jane Covert of the Coverts of Slaugham in Sussex.

drawn from St. Augustine, an error in the *essentials* of religion and that *obstinately* maintained. "In the primitive Church many were too lavish in bestowing the name of heretic on those which dissented from the Church in [as I may say] venial errors. A charitable man would have been loth to have been of the jury to condemn Jovinian for an heretic on no other evidence than that he maintained marriage in merit to be equal with virginity." Fuller in this instance uses the term "primitive church" in a vaguely comprehensive sense, not uncommon indeed from the beginning of the Reformation. He describes a heretic and his follower, a picture that might fitly be appended to his Holy and Profane State. Those who think that all should delight blindly to follow their own Church, when they are once satisfied that it is divinely appointed to teach them, should bear in mind that this implicit kind of faith in human systems is akin to that ignorance which is the very mother of all error; for well does Fuller observe that it is those who know nothing that will believe every thing. So different is the merely ecclesiastical to the truly Christian believer. One has his record only in his Church, the other in himself. "To prevent these mischiefs," says our author, "let the meanest-parted labour to attain to some competent measure of knowledge in matters of salvation, that so he may not trust every spirit, but be able to try whether he be of God or no. Believe no man with implicit faith in matters of such moment; for he who buys a jewel in a case without ever looking on it, deserves to be cozened with a Bristol-stone instead of a diamond."

In his remarks upon the words, "for in eating every one taketh before other," he places the love-feast of the Primitive Church *before* the receiving of the Lord's Supper, alleging St. Augustine's Epistle to Januarius (Ep. 118. c. 5.) noticing, however, the contrary opinion of St. Chrysostom, who places it after. The much aspersed but truly Primitive Church of the United Brethren, retains the love-feast in the order recognized by St. Austin. That most learned and candid Church-antiquary, the Bishop of Lincoln, after adducing the account of these Agapæ in Tertullian's Apology, adds, "When we read the above description of the Agapæ, we cannot but participate in the regret expressed by Dr. Hey, that scandal should have occasioned the discontinuance of an entertainment, so entirely consonant to the benevolent spirit of the gospel."*

Fuller observes in the like spirit, "Yet mark by the way, that St. Paul doth not plant his arguments point-blank to beat these love-feasts down to the ground, wholly to abrogate and make a nullity of them, but only to correct and reform the abuses therein, that there might be less riot in the rich, and more charity towards the poor."

Most characteristic of his pen is the following:

"*What shall I say! Shall I praise you in this?* Pastors may and must praise their people wherein they do well. 1. Hereby they shall peaceably possess themselves of the good wills of their

* *Bishop Kaye's Tertullian*, p. 425, *Cambridge*, 1826.

people, which may much advance the power and efficacy of their preaching. 2. Men will more willingly digest a reproof for their faults, if praised when they do well. 3. Virtue being commended doth increase and multiply; creepers in goodness will go, goers run, runners fly.

Use. "Those ministers to be blamed, which are ever blaming, often without cause, always without measure; (whereas it is said of God, he will not be always chiding, Ps. ciii. 9.)

"Do any desire to hear that which Themistocles counted the best music, namely, themselves commended? On these conditions we ministers will indent with them. Let them find matter; we will find words. Let them do what is commendable, and blame us if we commend not what they do. Such work for us would be recreation; such employment a pleasure, turning our most stammering tongue into the pen of a ready writer. To reprove is prest from us, as wine from grapes; but praises would flow from our lips as water from a fountain. But, alas, how can we build, when they afford us neither brick nor straw? How can we praise what they do, when they will not do what is to be praised? If with Ahab, they will do what is evil, we must always prophesy evil unto them."

Some there are, who profess to think that all Church-reforms are dangerous, and who naturally trouble themselves to excuse, if not to commend defects that so, nothing may appear defective. These admire pluralities, non-residence, want of discipline, and (in the case of their brethren) ne-

cessitousness of the Vicarial and Stipendiary Clergy. Let such hear our worthy divine, who, after observing that corruptions will soon find their way into the best Church, says, "If Primitive Churches, whilst the apostles which planted them were alive to prune them, had such errors in them, no wonder if the Church at sixteen hundred years of age may have some defaults. Moses said unto the Israelites, *Deut.* xxxi. 27. *Behold, while I am alive with you this day, ye have been rebellious against the Lord, and how much more when I am dead.* So, if while St. Paul survived, Churches were so prone to decline, what can be less expected in our days? It was therefore well concluded in the 39th session of the Council of Constance, that every ten year at the farthest, there should be a general council held to reform such errors in the Church as probably in that time would arise."

He afterward enters upon the subject of traditions, and gives the several senses in which the word *Tradition* is taken. Observing that doctrines not contained in the very words and sound, but in the substance of Scripture, are of equal force with the Scripture, being in fact the Scripture more formally but not more largely expressed: he admits also of such *opinions* against which nothing appears in Scripture, and which the Church in all times and ages hath maintained, condemning the opposers for erroneous; as the perpetual Virginity of the mother of our Lord. He declines to say of these that they are "of equal force with the written Word." Thus he, in effect, reduced them, how-

ever probable or venerable to mere matters of opinion. He notes that the Scriptures, besides many others, have two most principal privileges above tradition; 1. their inspiration; 2. their providential preservation. This second is indeed a royal and divine prerogative. The word of God is attested most clearly by his providence.

" The providence of God plainly appears in the preserving of the Scriptures against all oppositions. *Many a time from my youth up* (*may* the Scriptures *now* say) *yea, many a time have they fought against me, but they could not prevail against me.* Neither Antiochus before Christ, nor Julian the apostate since him, nor the force of tyrants, nor the fraud of heretics (though the world of late hath scarce yielded a wicked sharp-wit, that hath not given the Scriptures a gash), could ever suppress them. Their treading on this camomile made it grow the better, and their snuffing of this candle made it burn the brighter. Whereas, on the other side, the records of traditions are lost, and those books wherein they were compiled and composed *aut incuriâ hominum, aut injuriâ temporis* [either by the negligence of men or by the ravages of time], or by some other sinister accident, are wholly miscarried and no where appear. Papias is reported by Eusebius (*Hist. lib.* 4, *c.* 8.) in five books, to have contained all the apostolical traditions, which they call the *Word not written*; but Bellarmine himself confessed that these are lost. Likewise Clemens Alexandrinus (as the same Eusebius. *lib.* 6, *c.* 11.) storieth it, wrote in a book those

traditions which he received from the elders, and they from the apostles, which book the Papists themselves at this day cannot produce. I will conclude all with Gamaliel's words, *Acts* v. 39, *But if it be of God ye cannot destroy it.* Had these books been inspired by God's Spirit, no doubt the same providence would have watched to preserve them which hath protected the Scripture. Let us, therefore, leaving uncertain traditions, stick to the Scriptures alone, trust no doctrine on its single band, which brings not God's Word for its security. Let that plate be beaten in pieces which hath not this tower-stamp upon it."

The *Via Media*, as the party of Mr. Newman denominate themselves, have advanced many things ambiguously respecting *tradition;* not venturing to defend or altogether abide by their own assertions, but instead of refuting those who maintain the doctrine of the Church of England, charging them with misrepresentation. It is thus that the Romish Church, ashamed of her own paradoxes, endeavours to screen herself from the assaults of truth. These writers are so near the Church of Rome in this point, that the principal positions of Professor Keble's Sermon on Tradition are to be found in Bishop Prideaux's *Fasciculus Controversiarum*,* stated as the objections of the Romanists to the sufficiency of Holy Scripture, and refuted.

In reviewing the doctrine of the Eucharist, and

* pp. 47-51.

the arguments of the Romanists for Transubstantiation and the Holy Communion, Fuller asserts, as is probably in part true, that the doctrine of Transubstantiation was first occasioned by the hyperboles of Damascene and Theophylact. He might have added of Chrysostom, and others of the Fathers. "So dangerous it is for any to wanton it with their wits in mysteries of religion."

From the words "As often as ye eat this bread," he proceeds to urge frequent communion. "Under *as often* is *often* included; whence we gather we must frequently celebrate the Lord's supper. In the Primitive Church it was done every day. (*Euseb. lib.* 1. *Demonst. Evang. c.* 10.) And fit it was the aqua vitæ bottle should ever be at their nostrils, who were swooning every moment; and they needed constant cordials, who ever and anon had the qualms of temptation in the time of persecution." This homely figure is so expressive as almost by its suitableness to atone for its homeliness. "This frequency soon abated when peace came into the Church, which makes St. Ambrose (*Lib.* 5. *De Sacramentis*, *c.* 4.) reprove the negligence of the Eastern Churches who received it but once a year."

He proceeds to answer the objections that have been invented to dissuade from the revival of the better and more ancient spirit. The first objection is taken from the Passover which was observed but once a year. To this he replies, "The Passover by God was stinted to be used no oftener: in the Lord's Supper we are left to our own liberty.

Finding therefore our continual sinning, and therefore need thereof to strengthen us in our grace, we may, yea, must oftener use it, especially seeing all services of God under the gospel ought to be more plentiful and abundant than under the Law."*

The second objection is, "things done often are seldom done solemnly." *Then*, he replies, *sermons and prayers should be equally rare.*

The third is, that long preparation is requisite to this action. To this he answers, that often preparing lessens the difficulty of right preparation. He does not (with many) extenuate the guilt of the unworthy communicant. He speaks of this sin as "the highest of any pardonable sin, even guiltiness of Christ's blood itself." "This is a true maxim, 'To him to whom the sacrament is not heaven, it is hell.'" He observes that there were other sins amongst the Corinthians, factious preference of pastors, connivance at incest, going to law one with another before heathen judges, and denying of the resurrection. But of these he notes that they were felony, robbing God of his glory, but the irreverent receiving of the sacrament was high treason against the person of Christ, and so against God himself.

Of the discourses that follow, the two most worthy of their author are, the first, "on Growth in Grace," and the last, entitled "Faction confuted." In the first we have this excellent apophthegm: "Practice without knowledge is blind, and know-

* p. 59

ledge without practice is lame." Again, plants, he observes, have their bounds, both in height and breadth set by nature, but growth in grace admits of no such period. The latter part of this sermon is an answer to the doubts of those who are troubled with scruples and fears respecting their being in a state of grace.

"Others conceive themselves not to be grown in grace when they are grown, and that in these four cases: first, sometimes they think that they have less grace now than they had seven years ago, because they are more sensible of their badness. They daily see and grieve to see how spiritual the law of God is, and how carnal they are; now they sin both against God's will and their own, and sorrow after their sin, and sin after their sorrow. This makes many mistake themselves to be worse than they have been formerly; whereas, indeed, the sick man begins to mend, when he begins to feel his pain.

2. "Many think themselves to have less saving knowledge now than they had at their first conversion; both because, (as we said before of grace), they are now more sensible of their ignorance; and because their knowledge at their first conversion seemed a great deal, which, since seemeth not increased, because increased insensibly and by unappearing degrees. One that hath lived all his lifetime in a most dark dungeon, and at last is brought out but into the twilight, more admires at the clearness and brightness thereof, than he will wonder a month after at the sun at noon-day. So a Christian

newly regenerated, and brought out of the dark state of nature into the life of grace, is more apprehensive at the first illumination, of the knowledge he receives, than of far greater degrees of knowledge which he receiveth afterwards.

3. "Some think they have less grace now than they had some years since, because a great measure of grace seems but little to him that desires more. As in worldly wealth, *crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit*, so is there an holy, heavenly, and laudable covetousness of grace, which deceives the eye of the soul, and makes a great deal of goodness seem but a little.

4. "Many think they are grown less and weaker in grace, when indeed they are assaulted with stronger temptations. One saith, Seven years since I vanquished such temptations as at this day foil me; therefore, surely I am decreased in grace. *Non sequitur*, for though it be the same temptation in kind, it may not be the same in degree and strength; thou mayest still be as valiant, yet thy enemies may conquer thee, as assaulting thee with more force and fury. When thou wert newly converted, God proportioned the weight to the weakness of thy shoulders; bound up the devil that he should set upon thee with no more force than thou couldst resist and subdue. Now, thou hast gotten a greater stock of grace, God suffers the devil to buffet thee with greater blows.

"Some think grace is less in them now than it was at the first conversion, because they find not in their souls such violent flashes, such strong im-

petuous (I had almost said furious) raptures of goodness and flashes of grace and heavenly illumination. But let them seriously consider that these raptures which they then had, and now complain they want, were but fits short and sudden: *nimbus erat, cito præteriit;* not settled and constant, but such as quickly spent themselves with their own violence: whereas, grace in them now may be more solid, reduced, digested, and concocted: *Bos lassus fortius figit pedem*, more slow, but more sure, less violent, but more constant: though grace be not so thick at one time, yet now it is beaten and hammered out to be broader and longer; yea, I might add also, it is more pure and refined. This we may see in Saint Peter; when he was a young man, in a bravery he would walk on the water; yea, so daring was he in his promises; *though all forsake thee, yet will not I:* but afterwards in his old age, he was not so bold and daring. Experience had not only corrected the rankness of his spirit, but also in some sort quenched, surely tempered the flashes of his zeal for the adventurousness of it; yet was he never a whit the worse but the better Christian; though he was not so quick to run into danger, yet he would answer the spur when need required, and not flinch for persecution when just occasion was offered; as at last he suffered martyrdom gloriously for Christ.

"To conclude, grace in the good thief on the cross, like Jonah's gourd, grew up presently, for he was an extraordinary example; but in us it is like the growth of an oak, slow and insensible; so that

we may sooner find it *crevisse* than *crescere*. It must, therefore, be our daily task all the days of our lives; to which end let us remember to pray to God for his blessing on us. Our Saviour saith, *Matt.* vi. 27, *which of you by taking care is able to add one cubit unto his stature* in the corporal growth? much less able are we, in the spiritual growth, to add one inch or hair's breadth to the height of our souls. Then what was pride in the builders of Babel, will be piety in us, to mount and raise our souls on high, till the top of them shall reach to heaven. Amen."

The second sermon "How far examples are to be followed," is perhaps, more curious than edifying. But it evinces that Fuller was above using expediency as an excuse for actions in themselves doubtful. Herein, he was above many of his contemporaries, as well as superior to our own unblushing age. Thus, he will not have us imitate David in feigning himself mad, though thereby to excuse the cruelty of Achish. Such examples, he says, are abused, "by such who, though they have room enough besides, yet delight to walk on a narrow bank near the sea, and have an itch to imitate these doubtful examples, wherein there is great danger of miscarrying."*

The third discourse, "An ill match well broken off," is from 1 *John* ii. 15, *Love not the world.* This is one of the most quaint, but in substance admirable indeed.

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* p. 111.

The fourth sermon, "Good from bad friends," is as excellent as it is ingenious; 2 *Sam.* xv. 31. *And one told David saying, Achitophel is among the conspirators with Absalom.* He observes, how the treachery of Achitophel was a just visitation on David for his treachery to Uriah; how, when our friends forsake us, we ought to enter into a serious scrutiny of our own souls; 2. the most politic heads have not always the faithfullest hearts; 3. false friends will forsake in time of adversity.

From the unfaithfulness of friends we may learn: 1. to consider with ourselves whether we have not been faulty in entertaining tale bearers and lending a listening ear unto them; 2. if thy conscience accuse thee not, whether there was not a false principle in the first invitation of thy love? Was it a friendship begun in sin? 3. If it did not begin in sin, hast thou not committed many sins to hold in with him? Hast thou not flattered him in his faults, or at least wise by thy silence consented to him? 4. Hast thou not idolatrized thy friend? 5. Hast thou not undervalued thy friend, and set too mean a rate and low estimate on his love? 6. It may be God suffers thy friends to prove unfaithful to thee, to make thee stick more closely to himself. *Micah.* vii. 5.

The next discourse is entitled, "A glass for gluttons," *Rom.* xiii. 13, *Not in gluttony.* This sermon against gluttony is itself a surfeit of wit. Yet was it intended for a wholesome medicine, but alas! the glutton is not the man to be laughed out of his disease. The danger of this sin, our author

illustrates first from the very circumstance that it is not punishable by human laws; for "as those offences are accounted the greatest which cannot be punished by a constable, justice, or judge of assize, but are reserved immediately to be punished by the King himself; so gluttons must needs be sinners in an high degree, who are not censurable by any earthly king, but are referred to be judged at God's tribunal alone.

2. "It is the more dangerous because it is so hard and difficult to discern: like to the hectic fever it steals on a man unawares. Some sins come with observation, and are either ushered with a noise, or like a snail, leave a slime behind them, whereby they may be traced and tracked, as drunkenness. The Ephraimites were differenced from the rest of the Israelites by their lisping; they could not pronounce H. Thus drunkards are distinguished from the king's sober subjects by clipping the coin of the tongue. But there are not such signs and symptoms of gluttony. This sin doth so insensibly unite and incorporate itself with our natural appetite, to eat for the preservation of our lives, that as St. Gregory saith (*lib.* 30, *Moral* c. 28, *ante medium*) it is a hard thing to discern what necessity requires and what pleasure supplies, because in eating pleasure is mixed with appetite or necessity; what is the full charge of food which nature requires for our sustenance, and what is that surcharge which is heaped by superfluity.

3. "Because of the sundry dangers it brings; first to the soul, *Luke*, xxi. 34, *Take heed lest your*

hearts be oppressed with surfeiting. And indeed the soul must needs be unfitting to serve God so encumbered. That man hath but an uncomfortable life, who is confined to live in a smoky house. The brain is one of these places of the residence of the soul, and when that is filled with steams and vapours arising from unconcocted crudities in the stomach, the soul must needs *malè habitare*, dwell uncheerfully, ill accommodated in so smoky a mansion. And as hereby it is unapt for the performance of good, so it is ready for most evil, for uncleanness, scurrility, ill speaking. Secondly, this sin impairs the health of the body: the outlandish proverb saith, that the glutton digs his grave with his own teeth. Must there not be a battle and insurrection in his stomach, wherein, there is meat, hot, cold, sod, roast, flesh, fish; and which side soever wins, nature and health will be overcome, when as a man's body is like unto the ark of Noah, containing all beasts clean and unclean; but he the most unclean beast that contains them. Our law interprets it to be murther, when one is killed with a knife. Let us take heed we be not all condemned, for being felos-de-se; for wilfully murthering our own lives, with our knives, by our superstitious eating. Thirdly, it wrongs the creatures that are hereby abused. God saith, *Hosea* ii. 9. *that he will recover his flax and his wool from the idolatrous Jews, Vindicabo*, I will rescue and recover them as from slavery and subjection, wherein they were detained against their will; and in such like tyranny are the creatures, as bread,

wine, and meat tortured under the glutton. Lastly, it wrongeth the poor, for it is the overmuch feasting of Dives, which of necessity maketh the fasting of Lazarus; and might not the superfluous meat of the rich be sold for many a pound, and given to the poor?"

He then proceeds to consider wherein gluttony doth consist. It consisteth either in the quantity of the meat, or in the quality, or in the manner of eating.

Here he first admits that it is hard to define the proportion of meat for every man's stomach; "that quantity of rain will make a clay-ground drunk, which will scarce quench the thirst of a sandy country." It was well for our author that he did not live in these times. He would certainly have been condemned as an ignoramus by our Malthusian calculators, who have enacted regulations against which no man's appetite must be so presumptuous as to rebel, if at least he is placed under their most tolerant dominion.

"Let this be the rule," says our not less philosophical, though in the language of some 'pseudo-philanthropic' author, "he shall be arraigned and condemned before God for gluttony in the quantity of meat, who hath eaten so much, as thereby he is disabled, either in part, or wholly, to serve God, in his general or particular calling, be his age, climate or temper whatsoever.

"Gluttony is in the quality of the meat. 1. When it is too young, *Exod.* xxiii. 19. 2. Too costly. 3. An incentive to lust. 4. To increase appetite.

"It is in the manner of eating. 1. Greedily, without giving thanks to God: like hogs eating up the mast, not looking up to the hand that shaketh it down. It is said of the Israelites, *Exod.* xxxii. 6. *The people sat down to eat and to drink:* there is no mention of grace before meat: *and rose up to play:* there is no mention of grace after. 2. Constantly: Dives fared deliciously every day; there was no Friday in his week, nor fast in his Almanack, nor Lent in his year: whereas, the moon is not always in the full, but hath as well a waning as a waxing; the sea is not always in a spring-tide, but hath as well an ebbing as a flowing; and surely the very rule of health will dictate thus much to a man, not always to hold a constant tenure of feasting, but sometimes to abate in his diets. 3. When they eat their meats studiously, resolving all the powers of their mind upon meat, singing *Requiems* in their souls with the glutton in the gospel, *Soul, take thine ease*, &c. And whereas we are to eat to live, these only live to eat."

After the discourse upon gluttony comes that entitled "*How far grace can be entailed*," from 2 *Tim.* i. 5. Here he enters upon the question, how can we tell that grace is in another? Only, he replies, by long and intimate acquaintance. "Too bold are those men, who upon a superficial knowledge and short conversing with any, dare peremptorily pronounce that such an one hath saving grace and sanctity in him. These are professors of spiritual palmistry, who think that upon small experience they can see the life-line (the line of eternal

life in the hands of men's souls) whereas, for all their skill, they often mistake the hands of Esau for the hands of Jacob."

The Christening Sermon is from 2 *Kings* v. 14, the history of *Naaman*. Here he observes the state in which Naaman came to Elisha, and how, being repulsed, he followed the advice of his servants. He proceeds to enumerate the several points of his text, but finding them too many for one discourse, likens this circumstance to Gideon, who having too great an army for his use, sent most of his soldiers away; and so confines his remarks to the time,—after his servants had persuaded him; the simplicity of the means in preaching and in the sacraments; the sevenfold washing, in which we are taught patience; the duty of observing God's commandments, both in matter and manner, both in substance and circumstance; and the resemblance between the washing away of leprosy, and the washing of baptism, to cleanse our original corruption, yet not to cleanse perfectly, but in part, for "though the bane be removed, the blot doth remain, the guilt is remitted, the blemish is retained, the sting is gone, the stain doth stay; which, if not consented to, cannot damn this infant, though it may hereafter defile it." Thus closely did our author follow St. Augustine.

The Discourse entitled "*Faction Confuted*," from 1 *Cor.* i. 12, is against the factious affecting of one pastor above another. Here, our worthy preacher, who was no lover of faction, is quite at home. He meets this folly with abundance of sa-

tire, and exposes it as well in the minister as in his "dear hearers." He was not one of those who reproved only the unpopular faults of his generation, and spared pleasing follies by levelling at them empty generalities.

"Such," says he, "is the subtilty of Satan, and such is the frailty of the flesh, though things be ordered never so well they will quickly decline. Luther was wont to say, he never knew as good order last above fifteen year. This speedy decaying of goodness you may see in the Church of Corinth, from which St. Paul was no sooner departed, but they departed from his doctrine. Some, more carried by fancy than ruled by reason, or more swayed by carnal reason than governed by grace, made choice of some particular pastor, whom they extolled, to the great disgrace of his fellow-ministers, and greater dishonour of God himself. Now St. Paul not willing to make these ministers a public example, concealeth their persons, yet discovereth the fault, and making bold with his brethren Apollos and Cephas, applieth to them and himself, what the Corinthians spake of their fancied preachers; *Now this I say, that every one of you saith. I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos, and I am of Cephas, and I am of Christ.**

"I need not divide the words, which in themselves are nothing else but division, and contain four sorts of people, like the four sorts of seed, (*Mat.* 13) the three first bad, the last only, [I am of Christ] being good and commendable.

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* p. 178.

The mischiefs of factiousness he thus enumerates, first, it will set enmity and dissension betwixt the ministers of God's word. "It will anger not only Saul a mere carnal man, but even those that have degrees of grace: *He hath converted his thousands, but such an one his ten thousands:* these discords betwixt ministers I could as heartily wish they were false, as I do certainly know they are too true." 2. It will set dissension amongst people, whilst they violently engage their affections for their pastors. 3. It will give just occasion to wicked men, to rejoice at these dissensions, to whose ears our discords are the sweetest harmony. O then let not the herdsmen of Abraham and Lot fall out, whilst the Canaanites and Perizzites are yet in the land. Let us not dissent, whilst many adversaries of the truth are mingled amongst us, who will make sport thereat. Lastly, it will cause great dishonour to God himself; his ordinance, in the meantime being neglected. Here is such doating on the dish, there is no regarding the dainties. Such looking on the embassador, there is no notice taken of the King that sent him. Even Mary's complaint is now verified, 'They have taken away the Lord and placed him I know not where.' And, as in times of Popery, Thomas Becket dispossessed our Saviour of his Church in Canterbury (instead of Christ's Church being called St. Thomas' Church) and whereas rich oblations were made to the shrine of that supposed saint, *summo altari nil:* nothing was offered to Christ at the Communion-table, so whilst some sacrifice their reverence to this admired preacher, and others almost adore this affected pastor, God in his

ordinance is neglected, and the word being the savour of life is had in respect of persons.

" To prevent these mischiefs, both pastors and people must lend their helping hands. I begin with the pastors, and first with those whose churches are crowded with the thickest audience.

" Let them not pride themselves with the bubble of popular applause, often as carelessly gotten as undeservedly lost. Have we not seen those that have preferred the onions and flesh-pots of Egypt before heavenly manna? lungs before brains, and sounding of a voice before soundness of matter?

" Yea, when pastors perceive people transported with an immoderate admiration of them, let them labour to confute them in their groundless humours. When St. John would have worshipped the angel, *see thou do it not*, (saith he;) *worship God*. So when people post headlong in affecting their pastors, they ought to waive and decline this popular honour, and to seek to transmit and fasten it on the God of heaven. Christ went into the wilderness, when the people would have made him a King. Let us shun, yea fly such dangerous honour, and tear off our heads such wreaths as people would tie on them, striving rather to throw mists and clouds of privacy on ourselves, than to affect a shining appearance. But know, whosoever thou art, who herein art an epicure, and lovest to glut thyself with people's applause, thou shalt surfeit of it before thy death. It shall prove at the last pricks in thy eyes, and thorns in thy side, a great affliction, if not a ruin unto thee, because sacrilegiously, thou hast robbed God of his honour.

" Let them labour also to ingratiate every pastor, who hath tolerability of desert with his own congregation."

" I am come now to neglected ministers, at whose churches *solitudo ante ostium*, and within them too, whilst others (perchance less deserving) are more frequented. Let not such grieve in themselves, or repine at their brethren.

" One told a Grecian statist who had excellently deserved of the city he lived in, that the city had chosen four and twenty officers and yet left him out. 'I am glad,' said he, 'the city affords twenty four abler than myself.'

" And let us practise St. Paul's precept, *by honour and dishonour, by good report and disreport.*"

Turning to the people, our author counsels, " First, ever preserve a reverent esteem of the minister whom God hath placed over thee. Secondly, let them not make odious comparisons betwixt ministers of eminent parts. It is said of Hezekiah, 2 *Kings* xviii. 5, that 'after him was none like him of all the kings of Judah, neither any that were before him.' It is said also of King Josiah, 2 *Kings* xxiii. 25, 'And like unto him, there was no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his might, neither after him rose up any like him.' The Holy Spirit prefers neither for better, but concludes both for best, and so, amongst ministers, when each differs from others, all may be excellent in their kinds."

Such was the candid and truly gracious spirit of one, who, was in his day, deservedly popular; who

brought out of his treasures things both new and old; who aimed continually to edify such as resorted to him; who in doctrine followed not this or that party, but with the Church of England, went between the so-called Via Media on the one hand, and the rigid nonconformist on the other; who had indeed his defects, but greater deserts; if not so apostolic as Leighton, more profitable and far more orthodox than Jeremy Taylor.

In the following year, 1641, Henry Myriel published 'Daily Devotions, or the Christian's Morning and Evening Sacrifice, Digested into Prayers and Meditations, for every day of the week and other occasions, with some short directions for a godly Life; Written by John Colet, Doctor in Divinity, and sometime Dean of St. Paul's, London.' To this truly devout little manual, Fuller contributed a brief memoir of Dean Colet. In it, he calls him "a Luther before Luther, for his doctrine."

Of Fuller's first marriage, which was probably in 1640, no memorial has hitherto reached me. In the register of Broad Windsor, the baptism of his eldest son, *John*, is entered as on June 6, 1641.

Fuller was related to the Parkers of Suffolk, and the Seymours, probably of Devon. About 1641, he left Broad Windsor for London. There he preached for the most part at the Inns of Court, until, says his anonymous biographer, he was chosen by the Master and Brotherhood of the Savoy (as well as earnestly desired and entreated by that small parish) to accept the lectureship at their church or chapel of St. Mary: where he continued for about

two years, until compelled by the distractions of that period to take refuge in Oxford.

In the month of April, 1641, Fuller was at Salisbury, attending his uncle, Bishop Davenant, during the last illness of that most pious and eminent prelate. "His father was a wealthy and religious citizen of London, but born at Davenant's lands in Little Hedingham, in Essex, where his ancestors had continued in a worshipful degree from Sir John Davenant, who lived in the time of King Henry III. He bred his son a fellow-commoner in Queen's College, Cambridge, and would not suffer him to accept a fellowship though offered, as conceiving it a bending of these places from the direct intent of the founders, when they are bestowed on such as have plenty: though, indeed, such preferments are appointed as well for the reward of those that are worthy, as for the relief of those that want; and, after his father's death, he was chosen into that society.* In his youthful exercises, he gave such an earnest of his future maturity, that Dr. Whitaker, hearing him dispute, said, that *He would in time prove the honour of the University:* a prediction that proved not untrue, when afterward" [A. D. 1609, on the decease of Dr. Playfere,] "he was chosen Margaret Professor of Divinity, being as yet but a private fellow of the college. Whereof some years after he was made Master," [A. D. 1614, in the place of Dr. Humphrey Tyndale, Dean of Ely,] "and at last Bishop of Salisbury.†

* In A. D. 1594. † A. D. 1621.

He sate Bishop about twenty years, and died of a consumption, *anno* 1641," [on April 20, being the Tuesday before Easter-Day,] "to which sensibleness of the sorrowful times, (which he saw were bad, and foresaw would be worse) did contribute not a little. I cannot omit, how some few hours before his death, having lain for a long time (though not speechless, yet) not speaking, nor able to speak, (as *we beholders* thought, though indeed he hid that little strength we thought he had lost, and reserved himself for purpose,) he fell into a most emphatical prayer for half a quarter of an hour. Amongst many heavenly passages therein, *he thanked God for this his fatherly correction, because in all his lifetime he never had one heavy affliction, which made him often much suspect with himself, whether he was a true child of God or no, until this his last sickness.* Then he sweetly fell asleep in Christ, and so we softly drew the curtains about him." * Dr. Nicholas, at that time a prebendary of Sarum, and afterward Dean of St. Paul's, preached an excellent sermon at his interment.†

Dr. Brian Duppa, still had in memory for his Book of Devotions, was translated from Chichester to Sarum, and Dr. Henry King, the pious son of a pious father, Dr. John King, Bishop of London, was raised from the Deanery of Rochester to the see of Chichester. Dr. Thomas Turner, already mentioned as preacher at the Convocation of 1640, was made Dean of Rochester.

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* *Church Hist.* B. xi. § 53, p. 176.

† *Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 87. Ed. Nichols.

CHAPTER VII.

Fuller at the Savoy.

FULLER now settled at the Savoy, had for his parishioners the family of James, Earl of Northampton.* Of him he makes mention in his British Worthies, in terms of gratitude that imply his especial obligations to that noble person: "James, Earl of Northampton, for the happiness of whom and his, when I cannot orally pray, I will make signs of my affection to heaven."† The loyalists flocked to the Savoy, and Fuller, with all his moderation, was felt to be an hindrance to the violence of the Parliamentarians, and doubtless the more so, because, for his moderation, all good men, despite of their prejudices, could not but respect him.

Here, Fuller had amongst his friends, that most munificent patron of learning, Thomas, afterwards

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* He signalized himself in the King's service, by routing the Parliament forces near Banbury, May 6, 1643. He died at Castle Ashby, in Northamptonshire, Dec. 1681.

† *Worthies, Worcestershire*, p. 179.

Sir Thomas Adams, founder of the Arabic Professorship in the University of Cambridge. This truly loyal individual furnished the King with ten thousand pounds, and for his adherence to him suffered imprisonment in the Tower.* Our author's friend, Robert Abdy, of a family formerly settled at Abdy House, (in Yorkshire) was also made a baronet in 1660.† In his *Pisgah Sight*, as also before the *third century of his Church History*, he very gratefully memorializes his friend, Simeon Bonnell, of Felix Hall, Essex. In his *Church History*,‡ he returns his thanks also to Theophilus Biddulph, of Staffordshire and London, the first baronet of that name. Of his friends, William and Robert Christmas, brothers, merchants, William, in 1653, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Thomas Adams. Dr. Nicholas Hardy, (at the Restoration Dean of Rochester,) preached the marriage sermon.§

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* He was a native of Wem, in Shropshire, where he founded a free school; Lord Mayor of London in 1646, and created a baronet in 1660. He was in his old age deputed by the city of London, to accompany General Monk to Breda, and to attend the exiled monarch to his restored realm. Sir Thomas Adams was a Fellow of King's College. *Carter's Hist. of the Univ.* p. 456.

† He married Catharine, daughter of Sir John Guyer, knt. He died in 1670. His son, Sir John, resided at Stapleford Abbotts, (Essex,) below Epping.

‡ *Dedication of the 4th century.* He married Susanna, daughter of Zachary Highworth, Alderman of London, and was in 1664, created a baronet.

§ In Poplar chapel are buried William Christmas, aged 77 years, 1702, shipwright, and Mary, his wife, 1701.

His friend, Sir James Langham,* was member of Parliament, first for the county, and then for the town of Northampton, from 1656 to 1661.† Mr. John Robinson, of Milk Street, merchant, memorialized in our author's *dedication of the 13th century*, was Lord Mayor of London in 1663, and Lieutenant of the Tower, and for his services to Charles II. was created a baronet 1660.‡ His father was Dr. William Robinson, rector of Long Walton, in Leicestershire, and Prebendary of Westminster. His grandfather was John Robinson, of Reading, whose widow was re-married to William Laud, of that place, and was mother of Archbishop Laud. Mr. Thomas Hanson, Keeper of the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster, gave Fuller assistance in his Church History, by opening to him the records of his office. Fuller's friend, Thomas Williams, was (by his arms) of the family

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* His father, Sir John Langham, largely contributed towards the support of the royal family in their exile. He was one of the aldermen sent to the Tower in 1647, and again in 1648. He was born at Northampton in 1584, and died in 1671.

† He died in 1699. He married first, Mary, daughter and heiress of Sir Edward Alston, knt. Their daughter, Mary, was married to Henry Booth, Earl of Warrington. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Ferdinando Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; his third, Penelope, daughter to John, Earl of Clare; his fourth, Dorothy, of the family of Pomeroy.

‡ He married Anne, daughter of Sir George Whitmore, knt. Lord Mayor of London, of Whitmore, Salop; and died in 1697.

of Sir Henry, of Guernevet, Brecon, created a baronet by Charles I. in 1644.

Not inferior in munificence to Sir Thomas Adams, was that pious benefactor of the poor sequestered clergy, and, amongst them, of both Fuller and Bishop Brownrigg, Mr. Thomas Rich, of London, and of Sunning, Berkshire,* created a baronet in 1660. "You are, Sir," writes Fuller, in his Church History, "the entertainer-general of good men. Many a poor minister will never be wholly sequestered, whilst you are living, whose charity is like to the wind which cannot be seen, but may be felt."

Our author's friend, Henry Barnard,† merchant, had, before 1655, removed into Shropshire.‡ Mr. Thomas Bowyer, of the Old Jewry, merchant, was the grandson of Francis Bowyer, Sheriff of London, 1577, who saved the life of venerable Dr. Alexander Nowell, ("then Master of Westminster School, designed to death by Bonner,") and sent

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* This worthy person married first, Barbara, daughter of Gilbert Morewood, esq. of Seale, in Leicestershire; and, secondly, Elizabeth, daughter of William Cockain, esq. Lord Mayor of London in 1619, son of Roger Cockain, of Baddesly, in Warwickshire. Sir Thomas died 15 October, 1667, aged 66 years; leaving a son, Sir William, who was M.P. for Gloucester, 1698, and a daughter, Mary, who was married to Sir Robert Gayer, K.B. The baronetcy expired in 1803.

† *Ch. Hist.* B. V. Section 3, p. 201.

‡ A branch of this family was settled at Caxton, in the county of Cambridge, in the reign of Charles II.

him beyond seas.* Daniel, afterwards Sir Daniel Harvey, in 1655, High Sheriff of the county of Surrey,† was Ambassador from Charles II. to the Grand Seignior.

Besides these, Fuller has perpetuated the names of many other of his acquaintance in his *Church History* and *Pisgah Sight*. Not a few of them were eminent for their loyalty; and their number, wealth, and rank, evince the popularity and celebrity of our author.

It is probable, from the testimony of his anonymous biographer, that his first wife died in or about A.D. 1642.

On May 15, Fuller was present at the consecration of Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, to the see of Exeter.‡ He relates, that the consecration sermon was made by Brownrigg's good friend, Dr. Young.§ "The waters are risen, O Lord, the waters are risen," wherein he very gravely complained of the many invasions which popular violence made on the privileges of church and state. This Bishop himself, adds Fuller, was soon sadly sensible of such inundations, and yet by the *procerity* of his parts and piety, he not only safely waded through them himself, but also (when Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge,) by his prudence raised such banks, that

* *Ch. Hist.* B. VIII. Section 2, p. 16. He bore the same arms with Sir John Bowyer, bart. 1660, of Denham Court, Bucks.

† *Ch. Hist.* B. ix. Section 5.

‡ *British Worthies, Suffolk*, p. 62.

§ Perhaps Dr. Young, Dean of Winchester.

those overflowings were not so destructive as otherwise they would have been to the University."

Dr. Ralph Brownrigg was born at Ipswich, in 1592, and lost his father when but a few weeks old; he was admitted of Pembroke College, Cambridge, in 1607.* He was B. A. in 1610, M. A. 1614, B. D. 1621, D. D. 1627.† He was chosen a Fellow of his College, and in 1621, preferred by the most exemplary Dr. Nicholas Felton, Bishop of Ely, who had been Master of Pembroke College, to the fifth stall of Ely and the rectory of Barley, Hertfordshire, both void by the death of the pious and indefatigable Dr. Andrew Willet. In 1631, he was appointed to the Mastership of Catherine Hall, on the resignation of Dr. Richard Sibbes. In 1642, he was raised to the see of Exeter, on the translation of Dr. Joseph Hall to Norwich. He had in 1641, been preferred to the eleventh stall in Durham, but the confusion of the times soon stripped him of all. After his consecration he returned to Cambridge, and was appointed Vice-Chancellor for the third time. But thence he was, for the expression of his loyalty in an Accession Sermon, banished by the Parliamentarians.‡

In the course of this year, 1642, Fuller put forth his 'Holy and Profane State,' that work by which he has been more generally known than any other, as being of universal interest, a mixture of biography and parable, commending itself to all

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* *Wood's Fasti, Ed. Bliss*, I. 448. † *Univ. Reg.*

‡ *Fuller's Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge.*

tastes, and adapted to all readers. Many exquisite passages adorn the pages of Mr. Basil Montagu's Selections, itself an admirable collection from our older writers, and that will hand down to a distant age, the name of its benevolent compiler. The concluding passage in the 'Selections' is, by an oversight, attributed to Fuller. It is taken by him, with acknowledgment, from *Bishop Hall on Christian Moderation:* "Moderation is the silken string running through the pearl-chain of all virtues."

Well, does he remark, that they but lose their labour who seek to make a bridge of reconciliation over the great gulf between us and Rome. How long will men be learning that which all past experience attests as with one voice, that "though we go ninety-nine steps, that church will not come one to give us a meeting?" But the differences are irreconcileable; they affect the nature of worship itself. Is not this an essential difference?

Friend as Fuller was to moderation, it was no hollow compromising of truth that he sought to shield under colour of Christian candour. In his character of the *Controversial Divine*, he saith, "He engageth both his judgment and affections in opposing of falsehood. Not like country fencers, who play only to make sport, but like duellers indeed, as if for life and limb; chiefly if the question be of large prospect and great concernings, he is zealous in the quarrel. Yet some, though their judgment weigh down on one side, the beam of their affections stands so even, they care not which part prevails."

How does he paint to the life, not a few of our *Woods* and *Coles*, and some in our own time, where, describing the *Church-Antiquary*, he says, "Some scour off the rust of old inscriptions into their own souls, cankering themselves with superstition, having read so often, *Orate pro anima*,* that at last they fall a praying for the departed; and they more lament the ruin of monasteries than the decay and ruin of monks' lives, degenerating from their ancient piety and painfulness." This age needs the following monition. "He" (the true Church Antiquary) "is not zealous for the introducing of old useless ceremonies. The mischief is, some that are most violent to bring them in, are most negligent to preach the cautions in using them; and simple people, like children in eating of fish, swallow bones and all, to their danger of choking." Who would have conceived that men pretending to follow primitive antiquity, should commend the Romish practice of Lights to our church, a practice scorned in the days of Tertullian as an heathen puerility?

Happy would it be, if Herbert and Fuller were heard by those who are so zealous to commend praying above preaching, albeit they mean but one kind of prayer, namely, written prayer, to the disuse of private extemporaneous prayer, without which, nevertheless, no man will put his heart into the public prayers of the church. "He, (the faithful minister) doth not clash God's ordinances to-

* *Pray for the soul of* ——.

gether about precedency, not making odious comparisons betwixt prayer and preaching, preaching and catechizing, public prayer and private, premeditate prayer and extempore. When at the taking of New Carthage, in Spain, two soldiers contended about the mural crown (due to him who first climbeth the walls) so that the whole army was thereupon in danger of division, Scipio, the general, said, he knew that they both got up the wall together, and so gave the scaling crown to them both. Thus our minister compoundeth all controversies betwixt God's ordinances, by praising them all, practising them all, and thanking God for them all. He courts the reading of common prayers, to prepare him the better for preaching; and, as one said, if he did first toll the bell on one side, it made it afterwards ring out the better in his sermons."

But neither does Fuller fail to commend catechizing, as that which especially promoted the Reformation itself, and as indispensable alike in all ages of the church. Indeed all preaching should be so far catechetical, as to include all that is essentially needful to be believed and practised; not all upon faith, or all upon works, or all upon repentance, or all upon assurance, or all upon even the glorious mystery of our Redemption itself. Yet this should find a place in all sermons; no sacrifice without this incense; no right appeal to the heart without the cross of Christ.

Ever seasonable is that place of our author, where he introduces the faithful pastor, as "chiefly reproving the reigning sins of the time and place

he lives in." Preaching is called also prophesying, and the Christian pastor is in the place of a prophet, "boldly to rebuke vice." "We may observe," says Fuller, "that our Saviour never inveighed against idolatry, usury, sabbath-breaking amongst the Jews; not that these were not sins, but they were not practised so much in that age, wherein wickedness was spun with a finer thread: and, therefore, Christ principally bent the drift of his preaching against spiritual pride, hypocrisy, and traditions then predominant amongst the people."

No reader, I trust, would wish the following omitted. "He counts the success of his ministry the greatest preferment. Yet herein God hath humbled many painful pastors, in making them to be clouds not to rain over Arabia the happy, but over the stony, or desert. Yet such pastors may comfort themselves that great is their reward with God in heaven, who measures it not by their success, but endeavours. Besides, though they see not, their people may feel benefit by their ministry. Yea, the preaching of the word in some places, is like the planting of woods, where, though no profit is received for twenty years together, it comes afterwards. And, grant that God honours thee not to build his temple in thy parish, yet thou mayst with David, provide metal and materials for Solomon thy successor, to build with."

It has probably gone far to prejudice many against our author, that he hath, for a controversialist, chosen to give an account of Dr. Whitaker, and for a divine, of Perkins. But our age has pro-

duced no Whitaker for laboriousness, and, perhaps, none who have surpassed him in learning. Perkins was, in his own day, deservedly esteemed, as much for his learning as for his earnest preaching, and his funeral sermon was delivered by a Bishop who did honour to the see of Winchester.

Indebted to the greater of the two noble foundations of Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, who, whatever her life, appears to have been a plain Protestant in her death, I must advertise my reader that 'the good Master of a College' is exemplified by Dr. Fuller, in a memoir of Dr. Metcalf, Master of St. John's College, under whose governance were brought up the greatest of statesmen, Lord Burleigh, Ascham, tutor to Elizabeth, Sir John Cheke, and Walter Haddon.

In his Life of Sir Francis Drake, we find that it is not the Ultra-Protestant alone (to speak after the fashion of our modern innovators) who brings in the Romanist guilty of idolatry. "Then bending eastwards, he coasted China and the Malaccoes, where, by the King of Terrenate, a true gentleman Pagan, he was most honourably entertained. The King told them they and he were all of one religion in this respect, that they believed not in gods made of stocks and stones as did the Portugals."*

In our author's chapter on 'company,' he thus animadverts upon the monastic profession. "Well may we count him not well in his wits, who will always live under a bush, because others in a storm shelter themselves under it."

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* p. 127.

We have lately been entertained with a tolerably satirical stricture upon Jewel's recantation, and upon the absence of any thing like a sufficient penance after it. The 'Catholics' of the Church of England "do not think such a person the least in the world fitted to be a Reformer; the only good Reformers have been ascetics; Elijah, St John the Baptist;" [as for Hezekiah and Josiah, they are not worth the name: we cannot add, 'with reverence to the Scriptures be it spoken;' but such modern Catholics have long ago laid that aside.] "and again, the lights of the Church in the middle ages, Hildebrand, Becket, and Innocent." Nothing will do for these men but Popes and Prelates with their mouths full of cursing, men who have the boldness of St. Peter without his obedience, to whom long since it hath been said in vain, 'Put up thy sword into his place.' "Ah, there is more required to make one valiant, than to call Cranmer or Jewel coward, as if the fire in Smithfield had been no hotter than what is painted in the book of martyrs."*

It was of such theologians that Fuller wrote, "No pity is to be shewn to such voluntary cripples. We read (*Acts* xxvii. 12) of an haven in Crete, which lay toward the south-west and toward the north-west: strange that it could have part of two opposite points, north and south; sure, it must be very winding. And thus some men's souls are in such intricate postures, they lay toward the Papists and toward the Protestants; such we count not of

* *See the British Critic, July*, 1841. No. 59, p. 15.

a moderate judgment, but of an immoderate unsettledness." These men are confessedly moving, and what kind of motion, let them say for themselves, "As we go on, we must recede more and more from the principles, if any such there be, of the English Reformation."* Whatever may seem ambiguous in such a declaration, one thing is certain, that its authors do not mean by the principles of the English Reformation, their professorships, canonries, rectories, and the like.

In Fuller's character of the *good Bishop*, he makes honourable mention of Bishops Lake and Andrewes. Of Lake, Bishop of Bath and Wells, he gives a brief but interesting sketch in his *British Worthies*. His grateful spirit, here finds opportunity to requite in some degree, the fatherly affection of his now deceased uncle Bishop Davenant. "In his grave writings, he [the good Bishop] aims at God's glory and the Church's peace, with that worthy prelate, the second Jewel of Salisbury, whose comments and controversies will transmit his memory to all posterity." And, indeed, the learned will never fail to acknowledge the great acuteness and depth of Davenant. What praise can suffice for his animadversions upon Hoard, *on the Universal love of God?* A work in which Davenant enters, with a mind as fully prepared for such inquiries as can fall to the lot of man, into the most mysterious disputes that have ever divided philosophers and theologians.

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* *Brit. Critic, July*, 1841, p. 45.

The character of *the good Bishop* is so inimitably drawn by Fuller, that we may readily conceive that he would himself, had his life been spared, have considerably outshone the witty Bishop Corbet, and have been transmitted to posterity as a second Toby Mathew; that cheerful prelate never to be forgotten by those who have been made acquainted with him through the pages of his friend, Sir John Harrington.

Of those, who in his day, depreciated the martyrs in the Marian persecution, he nobly observes, "However, their (the martyrs') real worth floats not with people's fancies, no more than a rock in the sea rises and falls with the tide." *

To that party (the precursors of the Tractarian School) Fuller again alludes in the third chapter of his *Worthies of England:* "I confess I have formerly met with some men, who would not allow them for martyrs, who suffered in the reign of Queen Mary, making them little better than *felons de se*, wilfully drawing their blood on themselves. Most of these, I hope, are since convinced in their judgment, and have learned more charity in the school of affliction, who, by their own losses have learned better to value the lives of others, and now will willingly allow martyrship to those from whom they wholly withheld, or grudgingly gave it before."

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* The *Life of Andronicus* closes the '*Holy and Profane State.*' It was first printed in 12mo. 1646, and afterward in 1648, appended to the second edition of the '*Holy and Profane State.*'

CHAPTER VIII.

Fast Sermon 1642—*Accession Sermon* 1643.

FULLER was now residing in the midst of daily increasing perils. War had commenced, and the patriotic party (as they called themselves) shewed neither justice nor mercy to such of their fellow citizens as were bold enough to act upon more equitable principles. The King, insulted and unprotected in his metropolis, had, early in 1642, left it for York. Thither he was followed by the Lord Keeper Lyttleton and many of the nobility, and amongst them the Earl of Northampton and Lord Paulet; after the battle of Edgehill, he removed to Oxford.

Upon Innocents' day in the following December, ordered to be kept as a fast by the Parliament, (peradventure, as a religious mark of contempt for the institutions and observances of the Church of England,) Fuller preached at the Savoy in behalf of peace from *St. Matthew*, v. 9. *Blessed are the peace-makers.* He forcibly exposed the unchristian character of war, its opposition to the spirit of

prayer, faith, and obedience. He alluded to the miserable condition of the Irish Protestants, the desertion of whose cause must necessarily ensue in the continuance of the civil war at home. He pointed out the scandal and dishonour which would hereby redound to the Protestant religion, "whereof a true Christian ought to be more tender and sensible than of any worldly loss whatever." He replied to the objection, that the cause of truth would be sacrificed by peace. "Before this war began, we had in England truth in all essential to salvation. We had all necessary and important truths, truly compiled in our thirty-nine articles. We had the word of God truly preached (I could wish it had been more frequently and generally), the sacraments duly administered; which two put together doth constitute a true church." He proceeded to the objection that errors had crept into our doctrine, new ceremonies and innovations in discipline; "The best and only way to purge these errors out, is in a fair and peaceable way; for the sword cannot discern betwixt error and falsehood; it may have two edges, but hath never an eye. Let there, on God's blessing, be a synod of truly grave, pious, and learned divines; and let them both fairly dispute, and fully decide what is true, what is false, what ceremonies are to be retained, what to be rejected; and let civil authority stamp their command upon it, to be generally received under what penalty their discretion shall think fitting. But as long as war lasts, no hope of any such agreement; this must be a work for peace to perform." "So then

under the notion of peace, hitherto we have and hereafter do intend such a peace, as when it comes, we hope will restore truth unto us in all the accidental and ornamental parts thereof, and add it to that truth in essentials to salvation, which we enjoyed before this war began; and in this sense I will boldly pronounce, 'Blessed are the peacemakers.'"

He proceeds to the hindrances of peace, the many national sins of our kingdom not repented of, sins not of one army, or of one class of persons. "I never knew, nor heard," he says, "of an army all of saints, save *the holy army of martyrs*, and those, you know, were dead first, for the last breath they sent forth proclaimed them to be martyrs.

"But it is not the sins of the armies alone, but the sins of the whole kingdom which break off our hopes of peace: our nation is generally sinful. The city complains of the ambition and prodigality of the courtiers; the courtiers complain of the pride and covetousness of the citizens: the laity complain of the laziness and state-meddling of the clergy; the clergy complain of the hard dealing and sacrilege of the laity: the rich complain of the murmuring and ingratitude of the poor; the poor complain of the oppression and extortion of the rich. Thus every one is more ready to throw dirt in another's face than to wash his own clean. And in all these though malice set the varnish, sure truth doth lay the groundwork.

"Of particular hindrances, in the first place, we may rank the Romish recusants. *Is not the hand*

of Joab with thee in all this? was David's question. But is not the hand may we all say, of *Jesuits* in these distractions?" The Papists, he observes, discovered that the strength of England lay in unity, and that it was impossible to conquer English Protestants but by English Protestants. And to this end they sowed divisions.* Then he proceeds to speak of "the schismatics," and of those "who for their private interests supported the war." He then advises petitions both to the King and to the Parliament, the laying aside of odious party-names and terms of contempt, and a serious and general repentance; and exhorting his hearers to the devout observance of the fast, warns them from the prophet Amos, who, complaining of the luxury of the Israelites, their sensuality and degeneracy concludes all with this sharp close, "But they are not grieved for the affliction of Joseph."†

Fuller, in this instance, confined himself within very strict limits. He avoided as much as possible whatever was of a purely political nature, and, indeed, he could not have taken a contrary course without turning the fast into an occasion of strife and debate. He doubtless participated in the conviction, that the favour shewn to Romanism by the King and by some of his advisers was a great public offence, and so far he coincided with many, who, under the impression that the cause of the Parliament was the cause of true religion, joined

* And see *Preface to Stillingfleet's Unreasonableness of Separation.*

† P. 30.

with them. The Parliamentary leaders availed themselves of this feeling, and had in the January preceding the Civil War, entreated that the education of the royal offspring should be committed to the superintendence of Parliament, or, in the recess of Parliament, to the Privy Council; that the marriages of the royal family should receive a parliamentary sanction; that the penal laws against Papists and Jesuits should be strictly executed; that the votes of Popish Lords in parliament should be taken away, while those peers continued recusants; and that there should be such a reformation of the Church as Parliament might advise, after having called together an Assembly of Divines. We can, indeed, scarcely doubt that a great party were intent upon nothing but the establishment of a new system of church-government, in a word, the continuance of the already sanctioned equality of ecclesiastical persons. The patriotism of Hampden and of others may be very questionable, but it will be difficult to disprove that the lukewarm and inconsistent conduct both of James and Charles, in regard to the interests of religion, gave just cause of fear and suspicion to their subjects, that they had not a sincere affection either to the faith which they professed, or to the civil liberties of the kingdom with the welfare of which they were entrusted.

In 1643, the parliament professed (probably with insincerity) to desire a peace. Their irritating language, and their demand that the King would sanction the utter abolition of episcopacy, shewed of

themselves, that as they addressed him no longer as his subjects, so they had no intention of again acknowledging his authority. And on the other side, the selfishness of some about the King was as little inclined to any concessions, or to treat with his enemies in any light but that of traitors. So we find Fuller speaking out, and that in the most public place, upon March 27, the day of the King's accession. On that day he preached in the Abbey Church, Westminster, from 2 *Sam.* xix. 30. The text itself would doubtless be most unpalatable to all revolutionary spirits; "Yea, let him take all, for as much as my Lord, the King, is come again in peace unto his own house." He spoke very earnestly and unreservedly upon the duty of all to unite in accepting the peace now proffered on the part of the King, and to believe his promises. "There must," he says, "at last be a mutual confiding on both sides, so that they must count the honesty of others their only hostages. This the sooner it be done, the easier it is done. For who can conceive that when both sides have suffered more wrongs they will sooner forgive, or when they have offered more wrongs be sooner forgiven? For our King's part, let us demand of his money what Christ asked of Cæsar's coin; Whose image is this? Charles': and what is the superscription? *Religio Protestantium, Leges Angliæ, Libertates Parliamenti,** and he hath caused them

* The Religion of Protestants; the Laws of England; the Liberties of Parliament.

to be cast both in silver and gold, in pieces of several sizes and proportions; as if thereby to shew that he intends to make good his promise both to poor and rich, great and small, and we are bound to believe him. Nor less fair are the professions of the Parliament on the other side, and no doubt, but as really they intend them. But these matters belong not to us to meddle with, and as for all other politic objections against peace, they pertain not to the pulpit to answer. All that we desire to see, is the King re-married to the state; and we doubt not, but as the bridegroom on the one side, will be careful to have his portion paid, *His prerogative;* so the bride's friends entrusted for her, will be sure to see her jointure settled—*the liberty of the subject.*"

Then, applying the text to the occasion, he thus lauds the King. "Seeing now the servants of our sovereign are generally gone hence to wait on their Lord, we may now boldly, without danger to make them puffed up with pride, or ourselves suspected for flattery, speak that in praise of their master, which malice itself cannot deny. Look above him; to his God how is he pious! Look beneath; to his subjects how is he pitiful! Look about him; how is he constant to his wife, careful for his children! Look near him; how is he good to his servants! Look far from him; how is he just to foreign princes." Then enumerating the qualities of our sovereigns from William the Conqueror down to Edward the Fourth, he proceeds, "But let malice itself stain our sovereign with any

notorious personal fault, for to wish him wholly without fault, were in effect to wish him dead. Besides this, consider him as a King, and what favours hath he bestowed on his subjects, and then, that his courtesies might not unravel or fret out, hath he bound them with a strong border and a rich fringe, a triennial parliament." He then sums up the King's concessions, the abolition of the Star Chamber and High Commission Court, monopolies and ship-money; and the King's offer of abolishing "burdensome ceremonies to tender consciences," and lastly, "triennial parliaments settled, and the present indefinitely prolonged," a state contradiction, but a sort of despotism not unacceptable to these reformers, who thus sought each the perpetuity of his little kingship. Fuller hints at the *excess* of these concessions with his own felicitous manner. "Do we not dream? Do I speak? Do you hear? Is it light? Do we not deceive ourselves with fond fancies? Or are not these boons too big to beg? too great to be granted? *Such as our fathers never durst desire, nor grandfathers hope to receive?* O no, it is so, it is sure, it is certain we are awake, we do not dream; if any thing be asleep, it is our ingratitude, which is so drowsy to return deserved thanks to God and the King for these great favours."

But there is a fervour and an eloquence in this sermon that forbids our leaving it until it be ended.

"Next to the King, comes *my Lord the King*, and this peculiarly concerns the courtiers, and such Mephibosheths as eat bread at his table, who, under

God, owe their being to his bounty, and whose states are not only made but created by him. These, indeed, of all other are bound most to rejoice at their sovereign's return, being obliged thereunto by a threefold tie; loyalty to a sovereign, duty to a master, and gratitude to a benefactor: except (as some fondly hold, that a letter sealed with three seals, may be lawfully opened) any conceive that a threefold engagement may be easiest declined.

"Next we insist on '*his own house*,' wherein this city is particularly pointed at. For if London be the Jerusalem of our David, then certainly Westminster is his Sion, where he hath his constant habitation. Here is the principal palace of his residence, the proper seat of his great council, the usual receipt of his revenues, the common courts of justice, the ancient chair of his enthroning, the royal ashes of his ancestors, the fruitful nursery of his children. You, therefore, the inhabitants of this city have most reason to rejoice.

"But, alas! What have I done that I should not? Or rather, what have I to do that I cannot, having invited many guests now to a feast, and having no meat to set before you? I have called courtiers and citizens to rejoice, and still one thing is wanting, and that a main material one, the founder of all the rest, the King is not returned in peace. Thus the sun is slipped out of our firmament, and the diamond dropped out of the ring of my text. I pretended and promised to make an application thereof to the time, and must I now

be like the foolish builder in the gospel, begin and cannot finish? *Own house*, that is the bottom of the text, but this stands empty. *My Lord the King*, and that is the top of the text; but he is far off, and the words which are the side-walls to join them together, *He is come home in peace*, these, alas! cannot be erected. In this case, there is but one remedy to help us, and that prescribed by our Saviour himself, *John* xxvi. 23, 'Whatsoever ye ask the Father in my name he will give you.'

"Let us pray faithfully, pray fervently, pray constantly, pray continually. Let preacher and people join their prayers together, that God would be pleased to build up the walls and make up the breaches in the application, that what cannot be told, may be foretold for a truth; and that our text may be verified of Charles in prophecy, as by David in history. Excellently St. Austin adviseth, that men should not be curious to inquire how original sin came into them, but careful to seek how to get it out. By the same similitude (though reversed) let us not be curious to know what made our King (who next to God I count our *original good*) to leave this city, or whether offences given or taken moved him to his departure; but let us bend our brains and improve our best endeavours to bring him safely and speedily back again. How often herein have our pregnant hopes miscarried, even when they were to be delivered! Just as a man in a storm swimming through the sea to the shore, till the oars of his faint arms begin to fail him, is now come to catch land, when an unmerciful wave

beats him as far back in an instant as he can recover in an hour. Just so when our hopes of a happy peace have been ready to arrive, some envious unexpected obstacle hath started up, and hath set our hopes ten degrees backwards, as the shadow of the sun-dial of Ahaz. But let us not hereat be disheartened, but with blind Bartimeus, the more we are commanded by unhappy accidents to hold our peace, let us cry the louder in our prayers, the rather, because our King is already partly come, come in his offer to come, come in his tender to treat, come in his proffer of peace. And this very day being the beginning of the treaty, I may say he set his first step forward: God guide his feet, and speed his pace. O let us thriftily husband the least mite of hopes that it may increase, and date our day from the first peeping of the morning star, before the sun be risen. In a word, desist from sinning, persist in praying, and then it may come to pass that this our use may once be antedated, and this day's sermon sent as a harbinger beforehand to provide a lodging in your hearts for your joy against the time, that *my Lord our King* shall return to his own house in peace."*

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* The *Sermons of Innocents' Day* 1642, *and of March* 27, 1643, were reprinted in 1654.

John Pigot, curate of St. Sepulchre's also pleaded the cause of peace in a sermon entitled, "The sharpness of the sword, or Abner's plea for Accommodation, London, 1643."

CHAPTER IX.

Dr. Fuller at Oxford and Exeter. He writes his 'Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience.'

AGAIN Fuller appeared publicly as an advocate of measures tending to peace, in a sermon upon a fast day, in his own chapel of the Savoy, July 27. This sermon, entitled '*A sermon of Reformation*,' from *Heb.* ix. 10, '*Until the time of Reformation*,' was licensed by John Downam, and published this same year. In this discourse, he animadverted upon the religious innovators of his day, and said, "Withal we flatly deny that Queen Elizabeth left the dust behind the door, which she cast out on the dunghill, whence this uncivil expression was raked up."* Touching upon the school of Laud he says, "We freely confess that there may be some faults in our church, in matters of practise and ceremonies, and no won-

* P. 9.

der if there be; it would be a miracle if there were not. Besides, there be some innovations rather *in* the church than *of* the church, as not chargeable on the public account, but on private men's scores, who are old enough, let them answer for themselves." He then proceeded to shew "the true characters of such who are to be true and proper reformers." They must have a lawful calling to this work. It is plain from the approbation bestowed on the kings of Judah for their interference in ecclesiastical affairs, that to reform the Church was their proper office. Private persons should help forward by their prayers. Their office is to reform themselves and their own houses. "A good man in scripture is never called God's Church, (because that is a collective term belonging to many) but is often termed God's temple; such a temple it is lawful for every private man to reform: He must see that the foundation of faith be firm, the pillars of patience be strong, the windows of knowledge be clear, the roof of perseverance be perfected." He omits not in the qualifications of a true reformer, discretion. "Christian discretion, a grace that none ever spake against, but those that wanted it." In this sermon, as in his last, he animadverts upon the turbulent spirit of the Anabaptists. "Very facile, but very foul, is that mistake in the Vulgar translation, *Luke* xv. 8. Instead of *Everrit domum, She swept the house*, 'tis rendered *Evertit domum*,* *She over-*

* It is thus in an edition of the Vulgate, at Lyon, Peter and Claud Rigaud, 1648, p. 689.

turned the house. Such sweeping we must expect from such spirits, which under pretence to cleanse our church, would destroy it."

Fuller then commends a due regard both to the ancient and to the modern Fathers; "Reformation is to be done with all reverence and respect to the ancient Fathers. These, though they lived near the fountain of religion, yet lived in the marches of Paganism, as also in the time wherein the mystery of iniquity began to work, which we hope is now ready to receive the wages. If, therefore, there be found in their practice any ceremonies smacking of Paganism or Popery, and if the same can be justly challenged to continue in our church, I plead not for their longer life, but for their decent burial.

"Secondly, with honourable reservation to the memories of our first Reformers, reverend Cranmer, learned Ridley, downright Latimer, zealous Bradford, pious Philpot, patient Hooper, men that had their failings, but worthy in their generations." *

* It will be well for our age if it will give ear to the like moderation of one in our day, inferior, perhaps, to none in *foresight* and moderation. "We are told that we are on the eve of a great religious crisis: that a religious ferment exists in the public mind, such as has not existed since the Reformation: that all that our Reformers did, is to be undone: and that England is speedily to be *unprotestantized*. If the fact be so (and we know that some at least are labouring unceasingly to effect this consummation) it becomes, my Reverend Brethren, the more incumbent upon us, earnestly to pray that we may be endued with the spirit of the Reformers: that we may be enabled to imitate their modera-

And lastly, "with carefulness, not to give any just offence to the Papists. Though Papists forget their duty to us, let us remember our duty to them, not as Papists, but as professors of Christianity, to their persons, not erroneous opinions, not giving them any just offence."

Reproving the fanaticism of some of the sectaries, he remarks, "And yet there are some now-a-days, that talk of a great light manifested in this age more than ever before. Indeed we moderns have a mighty advantage of the ancients:* whatsoever

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tion: and emancipate ourselves, as completely as they did, from the dominion of passion, of prejudice, of an excessive desire, or an unreasonable dread of change." *Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Lincoln, by John, Lord Bishop of Lincoln, Delivered at the Triennial Visitation in* 1843, *pp.* 55, 56. *London, Rivingtons*, 1843.

* To the pretended *new light*, Fuller thus alludes in his *Worthies of England*. "What *reformation* of late hath been made in men's judgments and manners I know not. Sure I am, that *deformation* hath been great in trees and timber: who verily believe that the *clearing* of many *dark places*, where formerly plenty of wood, is all the *new light* this age hath produced."

Worthies of England, Northamptonshire, vol. ii. p. 160. *ed. Nichols*.

And in his notice of John Ball, "whose *treatise of Faith*," he observes, cannot be sufficiently commended, he relates of him that he hated all *new lights* and *pretended inspirations besides Scripture;* and when one asked him, whether he at any time had experience thereof in his own heart; "No," said he, "I bless God; and if I should ever have such phantasies, I hope God would give me grace to resist them." *Worthies*, vol. ii. p. 232.

was theirs, by industry may be made ours. The Christian philosophy of Justin Martyr, the constant sanctity of Cyprian, the Catholic faith of Athanasius, the orthodox judgment of Nazianzen, the manifold learning of Jerome, the solid comments of Chrysostom, the subtle controversies of Augustine, the excellent Morals of Gregory, the humble devotions of Bernard, all contribute themselves to the edification of us, who live in this latter age. But as for any transcendent extraordinary, miraculous light, peculiarly conferred on our times, the worst I wish the opinion is this, that it were true."

In this discourse he hints at the oppressiveness of enclosures in his day, "England, which (what betwixt the covetousness of landlords and the carefulness of tenants) is almost measured to an acre."*

This sermon was licensed by John, youngest son of Dr. William Downham, Bishop of Chester in the reign of Elizabeth. His elder brother was one of the best controversialists of his day, writing elaborately upon Justification, upon Episcopacy, and upon Antichrist. John Downham was born in Chester, was educated at Christ College, Cambridge, and was much esteemed as a preacher in London, where he lectured in St. Bartholomews, behind the Exchange, on the plentiful endowment of "Master Jones, of Monmouth." Fuller adds of him in his *British Worthies*, that he is memorable to posterity for his worthy work of the *Christian Warfare*.

* P. 23.

But four days after this sermon, the news of the taking of Bristol by the royal forces reached London; a great success, but the littlenesses and unhappy contentions of the Princes Maurice and Rupert, wasted the opportunities that now opened upon the King. About the same time there was a debate in the London Parliament, and an accommodation with the King was carried by a considerable majority, but on the following Sunday, the seditious preachers sounded to arms. No longer was the sanctity of the day regarded by these hypocrites; a common council was called upon that day by the Lord Mayor Pennington, and a petition and a mob carried by intimidation the designs of the rebels; the continuance of the war. Fuller had been appointed, with five of his brethren, to carry up a petition to the King for peace, but was on the way remanded by the Parliament.* And now the discovery of the commission of array in the possession of Tomkins and Chaloner, gave the factious party a handle to ill-treat and plunder their more loyal fellow-citizens. But to make their course sure, they drew up a protestation or vow and covenant, a fit precursor to that solemn league and covenant upon which they were pleased shortly after, to base their usurped authority.

"I, A. B. in humility and reverence of the divine majesty, declare my hearty sorrow for my own sins and the sins of this nation, which have deserved the calamities and judgments that now lie

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* *Appeal of Injured Innocence*, Pt. II. p. 46.

upon it; and my true intention is, by God's grace, to endeavour the amendment of my own ways: and I do farther, in the presence of Almighty God declare, vow, and covenant, that in order to the security and preservation of the true reformed Protestant religion, and liberty of the subject, *I will not consent to the laying down of arms*, so long as the Papists, now in open war against the Parliament, shall by force of arms be protected from the justice thereof: and that I do abhor and detest the said wicked and treacherous design lately discovered: and that I never gave, nor will give my assent to the execution thereof, but will, according to my power and vocation, oppose and resist the same, and all other of the like nature. And in case any other like design shall hereafter come to my knowledge, I will make such timely discovery, as I shall conceive may best conduce to the preventing thereof. And whereas, I do in my conscience believe, that the forces raised by the two houses of Parliament, are raised and continued for their just defence, and for the defence of the true Protestant religion and liberty of the subject, against the forces raised by the King; that I will according to my power and vocation, assist the forces raised and continued by both houses of Parliament, against the forces raised by the King without their consent: and will likewise assist all other persons that shall take this oath, in what they shall do in pursuance thereof; and will not, directly or indirectly, adhere unto, nor shall willingly assist the forces raised by the King, without the consent

of both houses of Parliament. And this vow and covenant I make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to perform the same, as I shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed."

Whosoever refused to take this vow and covenant, needed no other charge to be concluded and prosecuted as the highest malignant.*

Toward the end of this year the solemn league and covenant, which had been taken by the Parliament on Monday, September 25, was generally and rigorously urged. The great astrological quack, Lilly, accused our author of having taken it also, but he himself shews the origin and ground of this false accusation to have been his taking, but with limitations, the oath framed on occasion of the pretended plots of Tomkyns and Chaloner.

After having laid the Solemn League and Covenant and the exceptions to it before the reader in the eleventh book of his Church History, he proceeds.

"So much concerning the covenant, which, some three months after, began to be rigorously and generally urged. Nor have I ought else to observe thereof, save to add in my own defence, that I never saw the same, except at distance as hung up in churches, nor ever had any occasion to read, or hear it read, till this day (July 1, 1654,) in writing my history, whatever hath been reported and printed

* *Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion*, iv. p. 74.

to the contrary, of my taking thereof in London, who went away from the Savoy to the King's quarters, long before any mention thereof in England.

"True it is, there was an oath which never exceeded the *Line of communication*, meeting with so much opposition that it expired in the infancy thereof, about the time when the plot was discovered, for which Mr. Tomkyns and Chaloner suffered. This was tendered to me, and taken by me in the vestry of the Savoy Church, but first protesting some limitations thereof to myself. This not satisfying, was complained of by some persons present, to the Parliament, where it was ordered that, the next Lord's day, I should take the same oath *in terminis terminantibus*, in the face of the church, which not agreeing with my conscience, I withdrew myself into the King's parts, which (I hope) I may no less safely, than I do freely confess, because punished for the same with the loss of my livelihood, and since (I suppose) pardoned in the *Act of Oblivion*." *

This must have occurred after July 27, when he preached his sermon of *Reformation*, and probably before September 25, when the Solemn League and Covenant was much more than talked of, being taken on that day by the London Parliament.

At Oxford, Fuller was lodged in Lincoln College, and, whilst there, preached before the King in the University Church;† but his sincerity and

* *Ch. Hist. of Britain*, Book xi. pp. 206, 207.

† *Life of Dr. Fuller*, 1661. Amongst his friends at Oxford, was Dr. Yate, Principal of Brasen-nose College in 1660. See his *Worthies*, vol. i. p. 191.

moderation did not shield him from the reflections of some whose zeal knew no bounds, although it was not so with their charity. Fuller sought to reconcile the animosities of unreasonable men on both sides, but if the Heylyns took this ill, we may be sure that the Sandersons and Halls did not.

Bishop Hall, indeed, owned his friendship in a most cordial spirit, subscribing himself his much devoted friend, precessor, and fellow-labourer, in his letter vindicating himself and his colleagues in the Synod of Dort, from the aspersions of Goodwin, the author of the book entitled, 'Redemption Redeemed.'*

Sanderson, we have seen, was of the same mind with our author, in respect of the much disputed canons of 1640, and his high esteem of Sanderson he has perpetuated in his mention of Lincoln College; "Amongst the modern worthies of this college still surviving, Dr. Robert Saunderson (late Regius Professor) moveth in the highest sphere; as no less plain and profitable, than able and profound casuist, (a learning almost lost among Protestants) wrapping up sharp thorns in rosy leaves; I mean hard matter in sweet Latin, and pleasant expressions."†

It was not long before Fuller's *Sermon of Reformation* was attacked by a Mr. John Saltmarsh, M.A. of Magdalen College, Cambridge, and pastor of Heslerton, in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Fuller, in his *Worthies*, makes mention of him

* *Ch. Hist.* B. x, p. 85. † *Ibid.* B. iv. p. 168.

with that candour and charity, which never forsook him. He, there tells us, that "John Saltmarsh was extracted from a right ancient but decayed family in Yorkshire, and I am informed that Sir John Metham, his kinsman, bountifully contributed to his education. Returning into his native country, he was very great with Sir John Hotham the elder. He was one of a fine and active fancy, no contemptible poet, and a good preacher, as by some of his profitable printed sermons doth appear. Be it charitably imputed to the information of his judgment and conscience, that from a zealous observer, he became a violent oppressor of Bishops and ceremonies. He wrote a book against my sermon of *Reformation*, taxing me for many points of Popery therein. I defended myself in a book called *Truth Maintained*, and challenged him to an answer, who appeared in the field no more, rendering this reason thereof, that *he would not shoot his arrows against a dead mark*, being informed that I was dead at Exeter. I have no cause to be angry with fame (but rather to thank her) for so good a lie. May I make this true use of that false report—to die daily. See how providence hath crossed it: the *dead* [reported] man is still living;* the then living man dead. And seeing I survive to go over his grave, I will tread the more gently on the mould thereof; using that civility on him which I received from him.

"He died in or about Windsor (as he was riding

* May 20, 1661, at the writing hereof.

to and fro in the Parliament army) of a burning fever, venting on his death-bed strange expressions, apprehended (by some of his party) as *extatical*, yea, *prophetical* raptures, whilst others accounted them (no wonder if outrages in the city, when the enemy hath possessed the castle commanding it) to the acuteness of his disease which had seized his intellectuals. His death happened about the year 1650."*

Saltmarsh entitled his censures, "Examinations, or a Discovery of some dangerous positions delivered in a Sermon of Reformation, Preached in the Church of the Savoy last fast day, July 26," [by a mistake for 27] "by Tho. Fuller, B.D. and since printed." Then follows a text not very charitably applied, "Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof." This pamphlet was licensed by Charles Herle. He was a native of Cornwall; was B.A. of Exeter College, Oxford, 1615, and M.A. 1618; richly beneficed at Warwick, in Lancashire, and, after the death of Dr. Twiss, President of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. "As I dare not," writes Fuller, "defend all the doctrine delivered in his printed books, so I will not inveigh against him, lest in me it be interpreted a revenge on his memory for licensing a book written against me (by Mr. John Saltmarsh,) wherein I was taxed for Popish compliance, though since, (in myself still the same man) I groan under a contrary representation. The best is, innocence

* *Worthies of England, Yorkshire*, p. 212.

doth turn such groans into songs of gladness. Mr. Herle departed this life about 1655."*

The notification of license is followed by an anonymous advertisement, affirming that Mr. John Downam, had received from Fuller a promise which the latter did not fulfil, to alter some passages in his sermon of Reformation. Saltmarsh dedicated his "Examinations" to the Assembly of Divines; he professed that his thoughts took him but one afternoon, and they accordingly evince neither learning nor caution. Fuller answered them with more than sufficient minuteness; his reply he entitled, "Truth Maintained, or Positions delivered in a Sermon at the Savoy: since traduced for dangerous: now asserted for sound and safe. Oxford, 1643." After the Dedication to the two Universities, is a letter to Mr. Herle, who had vouched for the utility of Saltmarsh's hasty animadversions in the license he affixed to them. This Fuller regarded, and justly too, as nothing short of joining in the charges brought against him by Saltmarsh, charges that might have endangered him in such times as those. Then follows a letter to Mr. Downam in which Fuller denies altogether the anonymous report respecting his having promised to Downam to alter certain passages in the sermon that gave rise to this dispute. This is succeeded by an epistle to Saltmarsh himself, and by another to his parishioners of St. Mary, Savoy.

Of Herle, Fuller in the fifth chapter of his *Wor-*

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* *Worthies of England, Cornwall*, p. 212.

thies of England, gives the following pleasant relation: "I know the man full well, to whom Mr. Charles Herle, President of the Assembly, said somewhat insultingly, *I'll tell you news: last night I buried a Bishop* (dashing more at his profession than person) *in Westminster Abbey.* To whom the other returned with like latitude to both, *Sure you buried him in hope of resurrection.* This our eyes at this day see performed; and, it being the work of the Lord, may justly seem marvellous in our sight." *

In his Reply to Saltmarsh, Fuller draws a very dark, but doubtless, faithful picture of the times. Profanity, adultery, and theft, were never more common, "lying both in word and print grown epidemical, so that it is questionable whether guns or printing (two inventions of the same country and standing) at the present do more mischief in this kingdom."

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* Fuller, dividing the Bishops into companies according to the primates, Cranmer, Parker, Whitgift, Abbot, and Juxon, observes, "It is also very remarkable that of this fifth and last company [all Bishops in 1642,] nine are alive at this present; London, [Juxon, translated thence to Canterbury,] Bath and Wells, [William Piers,] Ely, [Wren,] Salisbury, [Duppa,] Bangor, [Roberts,] Coventry and Lichfield, [Frewen, translated to York,] Oxford, [Skinner,] Rochester, [Warner,] and Chichester, [King,] a *vivacity* hardly to be paralleled of so many Bishops in any other age, Providence purposely prolonging their lives, that, as they had seen the violent ruining, they might also behold the legal restitution of their order." *Worthies of England*, c. 5, p. 15, vol. i.

Herle, before three sermons, entitled, "*Ahab's Fall by his Prophet's Flatteries*," *London*, 1644, put forth a letter to Fuller by the leave of the author of these sermons. This letter is itself a proof of the hypocritical and double-minded spirit of the pseudo-patriots that abounded in this age of discord.

Fuller spent somewhat more than a quarter of a year at Oxford, and is said to have been appointed a chaplain in the army to Lord Hopton, one of the most faithful of all the King's servants, and one of the most religious of his generals. Whilst at Oxford, his library and all that he left in London, fell into the hands of the Parliament; another was appointed in his place at the Savoy, and he was reduced to as great poverty as it was in the power of his enemies to bring upon him. His going to Oxford, he tells us, cost him all that he had, a dear seventeen weeks compared with the seventeen years he spent in Cambridge.‡ To his losses he thus alludes in his Mixt Contemplations: "I have observed, that towns which have been casually burnt, have been built again more beautiful than before; mud walls afterwards made of stone; and roofs formerly but thatched, after advanced to be tiled. The apostle tells me, that I must not think strange concerning the fiery trial which is to happen unto me. May I likewise prove improved by it. Let my renewed soul, which grows out of the ashes of the old man, be a more firm fabric, and stronger

‡ *Ch. Hist.* B. iv. p. 168.

structure: so shall affliction be my advantage." And in another place, "This nation is scourged with a wasting war. Our sins were ripe; God could no longer be just if we were prosperous. Blessed be his name, that I have suffered my share in the calamities of my country. Had I poised myself so politically betwixt both parties that I had suffered from neither, yet could I have taken no contentment in my safe escaping. For why should I, equally engaged with others in sinning, be exempted above them from the punishment? And seeing the bitter cup which my brethren have pledged, to pass by me, I should fear it would be filled again, and returned double, for me to drink it. Yea, I should suspect that I were reserved alone for a greater shame and sorrow. It is, therefore, some comfort, that I draw in the same yoke with my neighbours, and with them jointly bear the burden which our sins jointly brought upon us."‡

In these times of legalized injustice, not only did our author suffer, but his library. In his dedication of the *fifth Book of his Church History* to the Rt. Honourable Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, Baron Cranfield of Cranfield, &c. he says, "Was it not cruelty to *torture* a library by *maiming* and *mangling* the *authors* therein? neither leaving nor taking them entire. Would they had took *less*, that so what they *left*, might have been *useful to me*, or *left less*, that so what they *took*, might have

‡ *Mixt Contemplations, Fuller's Good Thoughts in Bad Times, ed. Pickering. London*, 1841, pp. 60, 63.

been *useful to others*. Whereas now, *mischievous ignorance* did a prejudice to me, without a profit to itself or any body else.

"But would to God all my fellow-brethren, which with me bemoan the loss of their books, with me might also rejoice for the recovery thereof, though not the same numerical volumes. Thanks be to your *Honour*, who have bestowed on me (the *treasure* of a *Lord Treasurer*) what remained of your father's library: your father who was the greatest honourer and disgracer of students, bred in learning: honourer, giving due respect to all men of merit; disgracer, who by his mere natural parts and experience acquired that perfection of invention, expression, and judgment, to which those who make learning their sole study, do never arrive."

His loss he thus notices in the seventeenth of his *Meditations on the Times:* "One Nicias, a philosopher, having his shoes stolen from him, *may they*, said he, *fit his feet that took them away;* a wish at the first view very harmless, but there was that in it which poisoned his charity into a malicious revenge. For he, himself, had hurled or crooked feet, so that in effect he wished the thief to be lame.

"Whosoever hath plundered me of my books and papers, I freely forgive him, and desire that he may fully understand and make good use thereof, wishing him more *joy* of them, than he hath *right* to them. Nor is there any snake under my herbs, nor have I, as Nicias, any reservation or latent sense to myself, but from my heart do desire, that

to all purposes and intents, my books may be beneficial unto him; only requesting him, that one passage in his (lately my) Bible [namely, *Eph.* iv. 28,] may be taken into his serious consideration."

From his Dedication of the *second book of* his *Pisgah-Sight* to the Rt. Hon. Henry, Lord Beauchamp (son to William, Marquess of Hertford,) it appears that this may be understood not of the loss of *all* his books, for he then relates that all indeed would have been taken from him, had not a letter from the Lady Marchioness, preserved the greater part thereof.

Amongst his friends in this, the time of his greatest need, was Sir John Danvers, to whom he dedicated in 1647, his "*Sermon on Assurance.*" He, probably it was, (the father of Henry Danvers,) who gave him a liberal pension henceforth.‡

Lord Hopton came to Oxford in December, (1643) having already distinguished himself both in and out of the field, as one who could command not only others, but himself. Amongst his chaplains were Fuller and Richard Watson, of Caius College, also an author of several curious collections.§ Fuller's anonymous biographer observes of the Lord Hopton, "This noble Lord, though as courageous and expert a captain, and successful withal as any the King had, was never averse to an amicable closure of the war upon fair and honour-

‡ See the *Dedication of the engraving of Solomon's Temple, Pisgah Sight*, p. 355.

§ See *Wood's Fasti*, An. 1662.

able terms, and did, therefore, well approve of the Doctor, and his desires and pursuit after peace. The good Doctor was likewise infinitely contented in his attendance on such an excellent personage, whose conspicuous and noted loyalty could not but derive the same reputation to his retainers, especially one so near his conscience as his chaplain, and so wipe off that stain which the mistakes of those men [the zealots, who with Heylyn, were not satisfied with Fuller's measure of loyalty,] had cast upon him."*

During the campaign and while the army continued in the field, he performed the duty of his holy function according to the order and ritual of the Church of England, constantly preaching on the Lord's Day.‡

It was at this period that he, from place to place, gathered the materials of his "Worthies of England;" and if any shall consider how much original information is brought together in that work, and from what a variety of sources, he will not withhold from Fuller the praises due to his unwearied industry.

According to his anonymous biographer, Fuller was some time at Basing House, the very extensive and magnificent seat of the Marquess of Winchester. In his *Worthies* he thus notices the valour with which it was so long defended against the insurgents, "The motto, *Love loyalty*, was often written in every window thereof, and was well

* *Life of Dr. T. Fuller*, pp. 24, 25. ‡ *Ibid.* pp. 25, 26.

practised in it, when for resistance on that account, it was lately levelled to the ground." ‡

Whether his biographer is correct or not in this last instance, Fuller appears to have obtained of Lord Hopton, about or before June, 1644, leave to take up his abode at Exeter. Thither in May, the Queen had resorted from Oxford, and there by the interest of the Lady Dalkeith, (shortly after Countess of Morton, by the death of her husband's father) Fuller was appointed chaplain to the infant princess, Henrietta, who was born at Bedford House, Exeter, on the 16th of June. The Queen herself, left for France, at the end of the same month. Not long after this, the King visited Exeter for a few days, where he had the happiness of seeing his little daughter. Like the rest, however, of the royal family, she grew up in the alien faith of Rome, and so was afterward married to the Duke of Orleans.

Whilst at Exeter, Dr. Fuller's society was much sought. It is said, that "old Doctor Vilvain, of that city, was pleasantly rallied by the Governor of Exeter, for inviting him so often, or detaining him so long from the society of others, as a cornholder, that hoardeth up the grain to enhance the market and make a dearth. But, it seems, the Doctor had some uncommon manuscripts with a curious museum; and being of a generous disposition, as his

‡ *Hantshire*, p. 3. His account of Lord Hopton's engagements in Cornwall, at the end of *Cornwall*, in his *Worthies*, is taken from a MS. of that General.

benefactions in that city may testify, notwithstanding his sufferings in those destructive times, as also of courteous comportment and communicative conversation, they were mutually agreeable to each other. John Digby, Earl of Bristol, offered to retain Fuller in his household, if he would go over and reside with him in France, protesting, that while he was master of a loaf, Fuller should have half of it. But this offer he declined, as he did a similar one at another time, from the venerable and most munificent Morton, Bishop of Durham,* whose liberality has found a place in the pages of honest Izaak Walton, there to survive, (we may trust) to distant ages. Amongst his friends he also now reckoned the Earl of Carlisle and George, Lord Berkeley; the latter name he thus gratefully records: "At this day there flourisheth many noble stems sprung thereof, though George Lord Berkeley, Baron Berkeley, Lord Mowbray, Seagrave, Bruce, be the top branch of this family: one who hath been so signally bountiful in promoting these (and all other) my weak endeavours, that I deserve to be dumb, if ever I forget to return him public thanks for the same."†

Fuller, whilst at Exeter in 1645, published his *Good Thoughts in Bad Times*, dedicated to his patroness, the Lady Dalkeith; and in 1647, his *Good Thoughts in Worse Times*. Here it is

* *Worthies of England, Yorkshire*, p. 229.

† *Ibid, Gloucestershire*, p. 466. To Bishop Morton, is attributed an anonymous Treatise of the Nature of God, 1599; and from this work Walton borrowed the opening of his dialogue in the Complete Angler.

greatly to be regretted, in spite of the beauties with which his *Good Thoughts* abound, that they are in some instances unhappily degraded by a quaintness that is never so much out of place as in religious meditations. In like manner the Bidding Prayers of Bishop Andrewes savour as well of his defects as of his excellencies.

In his *Meditations on the Times*, he thus alludes to the then monthly fasts: "When the Jewish Sabbath in the primitive times was newly changed into the Christian's Lord's Day, many devout people twisted both together in their observation, abstaining from servile works, and keeping both Saturday and Sunday wholly for holy employments.

"During these *Civil Wars*, Wednesday and Friday fasts have been appointed by different authorities. What harm had it been if they had been both generally observed?

"But alas! when two messengers being sent together on the same errand fall out, will not the work be worse done than if none were employed? In such a pair of fasts, it is to be feared that the divisions of our affections rather would increase than abate God's anger against us.

"Two negatives make an affirmative. Days of humiliation are appointed for men to deny themselves and their sinful lusts. But do not our two fasts more peremptorily affirm and avouch our mutual malice and hatred? God forgive us; we have *cause* enough to keep ten, but not *care* enough to keep one monthly day of humiliation."*

* *Meditations on the Times*, xvii.

About the time of the Restoration, our author put forth *Good Thoughts in Better Times*, now rarely to be procured, except in the modern editions by Pickering, the latter of which includes his *Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience.*

The garrison at Exeter was for want of succours forced to surrender, but upon such favourable conditions, that Fuller was permitted by Sir Thomas Fairfax to depart without loss or interruption to London. "Here," says his biographer, "he met with but a cold reception amongst his former parishioners. Mr. Bond, heretofore a preacher at Exeter, was Master of the Savoy;* and so many other changes he saw, that the parish was scarcely to be found in itself."

Previously to his departure, Fuller preached a Farewell Sermon, which he entitled, "*Fear of losing*

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* John Bond was the son of Dennis Bond, Esq. a violent republican of Dorchester. He was himself educated under John White the centurist, and was chosen to a fellowship at Catherine Hall, where he was B.A. in 1631, M.A. 1635, and LL.D. 1645, having before this preached at Exeter. He was in 1643 appointed with White one of the Assembly of Divines, and when White took the rectory of Lambeth, Bond succeeded him at the Savoy, and in December 11, 1645, was made Master of the Savoy Hospital, in the place of Dr. Balcanqual. In March, 1646, the then powers made him Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he served the office of Vice-Chancellor in 1658. He was on the Restoration ejected from his Mastership, and Law Professorship at resham College. He then retired to Dorsetshire, and died July, 1676.

the old light." † It is founded upon *Revelations*, ii. 5, *And will remove thy candlestick out of his place, except thou repent.* Here, as in his Sermon of Reformation, he remarks upon the folly of looking for perfection in a church. He notices the sovereignty of the Divine will in visiting some with the light of the Gospel, and passing by others. "He it is that vouchsafed the Gospel unto unrepenting Corazin and Bethsaida, and denied it to Tyre and Sidon; bestowed it on unthankful Capernaum, and withheld it from Sodom, which would have made better use thereof. God alone it was that forbad Paul to preach the Word in Asia; yea, when he assayed to go into Bithynia, the Spirit suffered him not, but he was diverted with a vision, *Come over into Macedonia, and help us.*" *

This was not the first sermon that he had delivered under the expectation of its being the last in that city. It is dedicated to the Right Worshipful Mr. Cooper, Mayor of the city of Exeter, and to the other members of that antient corporation.

In his *Worthies of England*,† Fuller has recorded the following remarkable occurrence, "When the city of Exeter was besieged by the Parliament Forces, so that only the south side thereof towards the sea was open unto it, incredible numbers of larks were found in that open quarter, for multitude

† *Printed by T. H. for John Williams, at the Sign of the Crown in Paul's Churchyard*, 1646, pp. 26.

* *Acts* xvi. 6, 7.

† *Worthies of England*, vol. ii. p. 304. *Ed. Nichols.*

like quails in the wilderness, though (blessed be God) unlike them both in cause and effect, as not desired with man's destruction, nor sent with God's anger, as appeared by their safe digestion into wholesome nourishment. Hereof I was an *eye* and *mouth* witness. I will save my credit in not conjecturing any number; knowing, that herein though I should stoop below the truth, I should mount above belief. They were as fat as plentiful; so that being sold for two pence a dozen and under, the poor (who could have no cheaper, as the rich no better meat) used to make pottage of them, boiling them down therein. Several natural causes were assigned hereof: 1. That these fowl, frighted with much shooting on the land, retreated to the *sea-side* for their refuge; 2. That it is familiar with them in cold winters (as that was) to shelter themselves in the most southern parts; 3. That some sorts of seed were lately sown in those parts, which invited them thither for their own repast. However, the *cause of causes* was *Divine Providence*, thereby providing a feast for many poor people who otherwise had been pinched for provision."

His anonymous biographer informs us that Fuller went forthwith from Exeter to London. If so, he did not continue there very long, for in January, 1647, we find him weak in health and dejected in spirits, at Boughton near Northampton. In his retirement he wrote his *Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience*, and dedicated it to *the Right Honourable and Virtuous Lady Frances Manners, Countess of Rutland*, sister of Edward, the second Lord Montagu of Boughton, beneath

whose hospitable roof this pious treatise was composed.*

Let those who object to what some ignorantly call even yet solifidianism and fatalism, as being doctrines of licentiousness, mark the following passage: "Sorrow for sin exceeds sorrow for suffering, in the continuance and durableness thereof: the other, like a landflood, quickly come, quickly gone; this is a continual dropping or running river, keeping a constant stream. *My sins*, saith David, *are ever before me:* so also is the sorrow for sin in the soul of a child of God, morning, evening, day, night, when sick, when sound, feasting, fasting, at home, abroad, ever within him. This grief beginneth at his conversion; continueth all his life; endeth only at his death."

After glancing at the Antinomian error of many in those days who were utterly opposed to all *marks* of sincerity, counting it needless for preachers to propound, or people to apply them, he proposes the the following test: "Art thou careful to order thy very thoughts, because the infinite Searcher of the hearts doth behold them? Dost thou freely and fully confess thy sins to God, spreading them open in his presence without any desire or endeavour to deny, dissemble, defend, excuse, or extenuate them? Dost thou delight in an universal obedience to all God's laws, not thinking with the superstitious Jews by overkeeping the fourth commandment, to

* The third book of his *Pisgah-Sight*, Fuller dedicated to John Lord Ross, son to the Right Honourable John Earl of Rutland.

make reparation to God for breaking all the rest? Dost thou love their persons and preaching best who most clearly discover thine own faults and corruptions unto thee? Dost thou strive against thy vindictive nature, not only to forgive those who have offended thee, but also to wait an occasion with humility to fasten a fitting favor upon them? Dost thou love grace and goodness even in those who differ from thee in point of opinion in civil controversies? Canst thou be sorrowful for the sins of others, no whit relating unto thee, merely because the glory of a good God suffers by their profaneness?

"As I will not bow to flatter any, so I will fall down as far as truth will give me leave, to reach comfort to the humble to whom it is due. Know to thy further consolation, that where some of these signs truly are, there are more, yea, all of them, though not so visible and conspicuous, but in a dimmer and darker degree. When we behold violets and primroses fairly to flourish, we conclude the dead of the winter is past, though as yet, no roses or July flowers appear, which long after lie hid in their leaves, or lurk in their roots; but in due time will discover themselves. If some of these signs be above ground in thy sight, others are under ground in thy heart; and though the former started first, the other will follow in order: it being plain that thou art passed from death unto life, by this hopeful and happy spring of some signs in thy heart."

He urges the continuance of prayer and of reading the Scriptures, in spite of inward deadness of heart, that in the due time discomfort may be re-

moved; the sure result of a steadfast adherence to the appointed aids. He commends the discreet use of confession of sin to some godly minister, who, by absolution, may pronounce and apply pardon to the afflicted spirit.

But whilst the sincerity of our faith may be surely proved and known by its effects, as the life of a tree by its fruits, in despair, or rather, when we are strongly tempted to it, (and no, or but few sincere Christians are there but will be so tempted,) it is our only resource to "look upwards unto a gracious God;" then "it is not thy faith but God's faithfulness thou must rely upon: casting thine eyes downward on thyself, to behold the great distance betwixt what thou deservest and what thou desirest, is enough to make thee giddy, stagger, and reel into despair." This true brokenheartedness is that which all need, and which a thorough self-knowledge would impart to all, to all who know the mystery of redemption, and whose hearts are at all touched by it. And how can those esteem the physician who know not their own wounds? He himself said, "to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little." It is not for sinners proudly to refuse the comfort of this truth.

I cannot withhold from my reader the conclusion of this excellent manual; "Music is sweetest near or over rivers, where the echo thereof is best rebounded by the water. Praise for pensiveness, thanks for tears, and blessing God over the floods of affliction, makes the most melodious music in the ear of heaven."

CHAPTER X.

Fuller preferred to Waltham Abbey.—His Pisgah-Sight.

RETURNING from Boughton to London, Fuller preached for a little while at St. Clement's, East Cheap, between the end of March and the month of May, 1647. In the churchwarden's accounts, this entry occurs early in the list of payments for that year:

"Paid for 4 Sermons preached by Mr. ffuller, 00 1. 0 6. 0 8."

In the vestry minute-book, there is an entry dated July 22, 1647, to the effect that the *tithes* should be kept by the churchwardens, and paid to such ministers *as should be appointed.**

In the account for 1648, is the following entry:

* In 1636, was paid at All Hallows, Bread Street, £13. s 6. d 8. for one sermon every Sunday; at St. Swithin's, London Stone, 14 £.; by the Mercer's Company at St. Michael Royal, 13 £.; at St. Mary, Aldermary, for weekly sermons in winter, by gift for ever, 20 £.; at St. Mary-le-Bow, for a weekly sermon in winter, £ 26. s 13. d 4.; at St.

"Paid diverse ministers for preachinge 22 Sabbath daies, beginīge the 12th of Nov. 1648——0 22. 00. 00." The names are not specified.

Fuller is said to have preached a lecture at St. Clement's, East Cheap, on the Wednesday afternoon, and at St. Bride's, Fleet Street, on the Thursday afternoon, but the books of the latter parish were destroyed, or lost, in the great fire of 1666. Probably Fuller was permitted to preach again in these churches, about, or after 1652, as also at the Mercer's chapel, for he commemorates that company amongst his benefactors in his Church History.

In 1648, in his dedication of his *Sermon on Assurance*, already noticed under the period at which it was first preached, Fuller, informs us, that he was silenced at St. Clement's, East Cheap, by the prevailing faction: "It hath been the pleasure of the present authority, (to whose commands I humbly submit) to make me mute, forbidding me, till further order, the exercise of my public preaching; wherefore I am fain to employ my fingers in writing, to make the best signs I can, thereby to express, as my desire to the general good, so my particular gratitude to your honour;" (Sir John Danvers, who, in 1649, signed his hand to the death-warrant of his sovereign.)

Dunstan's in the West, for 12 sermons, £5. s6. d8.; at St. Michael's, Cornhill, for 9 sermons yearly, £4. s10.; at St. Andrew, Hubbard's, for 3 sermons, 3£.; at St. Bride's, Fleet Street, 3 sermons, each ten shillings; at St. Peter's, Cornhill, for 2 sermons, one pound. *Newcourt's Repertorium*, vol. i.

To the old church of St. Clement's, East Cheap, Fuller's very dear and faithful friend, Baldwin Hamey, M.D. was a great benefactor. He was the son of Baldwin Hamey, alias De Hame, M. D. of Bruges, in Flanders, and of Sarah, his wife, daughter and heir of Peter Oeyles, of Antwerp, merchant. He studied at the University of Leyden, and on February 4, 1629, was incorporated of the University of Oxford. In 1630, he was admitted candidate of the college of Physicians, London; and was afterward fellow, censor, anatomy reader, elector, registrar, and consiliarius, but never president of the same college. He was in great estimation as a physician, and surviving Dr. Fuller, died May 14, 1676, aged 76 years, and was buried in the nave of the old church, Chelsea.* At Chelsea

* Newcourt records, that St. Clement's, East Cheap, was repaired and beautified in 1632, at the cost and charge of the parishioners, "and," he adds "if my memory fails not, it was again repaired about the year 1657, or 1658, and the roof of the church (formerly of tile) covered with lead, at the cost of Dr. Aimy [Hamey] an eminent physician." *Newcourt's Repertorium*, vol. i. p. 326, ed. London, 1708.

The rector of St. Clement's, Benjamin Stone, A. M. Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was Rector of St. Mary Abchurch, 1613, and in 1638, Prebendary of Reculverland, in the church of St. Paul's, having been preferred also by Laud to St. Clement's, East Cheap, in 1637. He was deprived of all, but restored in 1660. He died before March, 1665.

In 1662, succeeded at St. Clement's, Samuel Bolton, a pious son of a pious father, Robert Bolton, whose life is excellently given in the *Abel Redivivus*. He was himself a native of Broughton, in Northamptonshire. He died in 1668.

was also the residence of Sir John Danvers, our author's benefactor, of whom saith John Bates in his *Lives of the Regicides*, "though he lived some years in his disloyalty without repentance, 'yet drawing near the time of his death,' I have cause to believe that he repented of the wickedness of his life; for that, then Mr., now Dr. Thomas Fuller, was conversant in his family, and preached several times at Sir John Danvers, his desire, in Chelsea Church; where, I am sure, all that frequented that congregation, will say, he was instructed to repent of his misguided and wicked consultations, in having to do with the murder of that just man, the King."

Thus, in 1649, Fuller preached a funeral sermon in Chelsea church, entitled *The Just Man's Funeral*, of which there can be little doubt that it was designed in honour of the King himself. The object of it was previously understood amongst his friends; so it was delivered "before several persons of Honour and Worship." This sermon is "a vindication of the Divine Providence in the misfortunes and deaths of the righteous."* Very characteristic of him is the beginning: "The world is a volume of God's works, which all good people ought studiously to peruse. Three sorts of men are to blame herein: first, such as observe nothing at all; seeing, but neither marking nor minding the daily accidents that happen; with Gallio, the secure deputy of Achaia, *They care for none of*

* From *Eccles.* vii. 14.

these things. Secondly, such as observe nothing observable. These may be said to *weed the world.* If any passage happeneth which deserveth to be forgotten, their *jet memories* (only attracting straws and chaff unto them) registereth and retaineth them; fond fashions and foolish speeches is all that they charge on their account, and only empty ciphers swell the note-books of their discoveries. Lastly, such who make good observations, but no applications. With *Mary*, they do not *ponder things in their heart*, but only brew them in their heads, and presently breathe them out of their mouth, having only a rational understanding thereof (which renders them acceptable in company for their discourse) but never suffering them to sink into their souls, or make any effectual impression on their lives."

In this sermon, he touches upon the various senses of the term *righteous*, as applied to men in this life, *intentionally*, desiring and endeavouring after righteousness with all their might; *comparatively*, in reference to wicked men; *imputatively*, having the righteousness of God in Christ imputed unto them; *inhesively*, having many heavenly graces and holy endowments, sincere though not perfect. He observes, that good men, of all others, are most envied and maligned, having the fiercest adversaries to oppose them. With the most in the world, it is quarrel enough to hate a good man, because he is a good man. Righteous men as they have more enemies, so they are themselves less wary than other men, as being less suspicious,

whilst wicked men, partly out of policy, more out of guiltiness, sleep like Hercules with their club in their hand, stand always on their guard, and are jealous of their very shadows. And again, the righteous are given unwisely indeed, to hope that their very innocency will suffice without other means, for their protection. Lastly, the righteous man is restricted in his use of means, preferring to die many times rather than to save himself once by unwarrantable ways. The wicked make religion itself a cloak and a weapon, "No better cordial for a dying cause," says Fuller, "than to overshadow it with the pretence that it is *God's cause*." And "this will in a manner legitimate the basest ends." "The priests of Bel were but bunglers, which could not steal the meat of their idol, but they must be discovered by the print of their footsteps. Men are grown more cunning thieves now-a-days; first, they will put on the shoes of him they intend to rob, and then steal, that so their treadings may tell no tales to their disadvantage. They will not stride a pace, nor go a step, nor stir a foot, but all for *God's cause*, all for the good and glory of God." There can be no mistake respecting the people here pointed at. Every one is aware who those were that always had religion in their mouths; the men who could act any part that policy pointed out, the men who brought the King to the scaffold.

This instance of Fuller's integrity is the more observable since he, not long before, was beneath the roof of Sir John Danvers, in whose private chapel he preached his "Sermon of Contentment,"

a sermon unusually quaint, and divided in the form of a parable.*

About this time, James Hay Earl of Carlisle, Viscount Doncaster, Baron of Sawley and Waltham, procured for Fuller the perpetual curacy of Waltham Abbey. This noble person was grandson to Sir Edward Denny (created by King James, Baron of Waltham, and by King Charles, Earl of Norwich), by his daughter Honora. He married Margaret, daughter of Francis Earl of Bedford, but died without issue, before Fuller, in 1660. His widow was afterwards married to the Earl of Manchester, and on his decease, to Robert Rich Earl of Warwick and Holland. To Francis Lord Russell, son to the Right Honourable William Earl of Bedford,† Fuller dedicates the fourth book of his *Pisgah Sight;* "Far be it from your Honour to be listed among those noble men, of whom it may be said in a bad sense, that they are *very highly descended*, as being *come down many degrees* from the worth and virtues of their noble progenitors."

Fuller fails not, on a fitting occasion, in his *Church History*, to do honour to the virtues of that tried and admirable person Anne Countess of Bedford, "as chaste and virtuous a lady as any of the English nation," the daughter indeed of an unhappy parent, happy had her name been handed

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* The text is 1 Tim. vi. 6. Published in 1648.

† First Duke of Bedford, (father of Lord William Russell, who was beheaded July 21st, 1683;) died September 7th, 1700.

down to us only as the mother of such a daughter.*

The perpetual curacy of Waltham† had been well endowed by the Earl of Norwich, being raised by him from eight to one hundred pounds, but the church is not proportionably endowed at this time. Here Fuller is said to have been once called before the Triers who examined and dispossessed such ministers as they judged upon any ground unfit. They desired some proof of our author's extraordinary memory, upon which he promised them, if they would restore a certain poor sequestered minister, never to forget that kindness as long as he lived.‡

Here he enjoyed the friendship of Lionel Cranfield, second son of Lionel the displaced and unjustly persecuted Lord Treasurer of James I. This kind friend of Fuller resided at Copt Hall, long since pulled down, but in his time a noble mansion,

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* See *Fuller's Church Hist.* b. 10. § 28. p. 68.

† Of the Powder Mills in this parish, Fuller observes in his *Worthies, (Essex,* vol. i. p. 338.) "It is questionable whether the making of gunpowder be more profitable or more dangerous; the mills in my parish having been *five* times blown up within *seven* years, but, blessed be God! without the loss of any one man's life."

‡ Fuller, in his notice of Bishop Hall, first beneficed in Suffolk by Sir Robert Drury, and thence removed by Edward Lord Denny (afterward Earl of Norwich) to Waltham Abbey, observes, "Here I must pay the tribute of my gratitude to his memory, as building upon his foundation, beholding myself as his great-grandchild in that place, three degrees from him in succession; but, oh! how many from him in ability! His little Catechism hath done great

the chapel of which was adorned with the richly painted glass that is now in the chancel windows of St. Margaret's, Westminster. Lionel Earl of Middlesex and Baron Cranfield of Cranfield in the county of Bedford, was one of the gentlemen of his Majesty's (Charles II.) bedchamber, and died on October 26th, 1674.

Here also he enjoyed the friendship of Sir Henry Wroth of Durance (near Ponder's End) or Durands. This seat had been in possession of that family from the reign of Henry IV. by the marriage of John Wroth to Matilda sole daughter of Thomas Durand. Sir Henry's great-grandfather was much esteemed by Edward VI. who died in his arms. He fled in the next reign to Germany, but returned and was restored to his possessions when the terrors of Romanism were at an end.*

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good in that populous parish; and I could wish that ordinance more generally used all over England." *Worthies*, vol. i. p. 566.

In Dr. Edmund Calamy's Memoirs of the celebrated John Howe, our author is said to have applied to Howe for advice with respect to his own ordeal, and saith Calamy, "Howe freely gave him his advice and he promised to follow it; and when he appeared before them and they proposed to him the usual question, whether he had ever had any experience of a work of grace upon his heart, he gave this in for answer, that he could appeal to the searcher of hearts that he made conscience of his very thoughts; with which answer they were satisfied, as indeed they well might." P. 21. London, 1724.

* This family was also situated at Blenden Hall, Kent. To Sir Henry, Fuller dedicates the third section of the 8th

"It was observable," relates Fuller, "that the family of this man who went away for his conscience, was the only family in Middlesex, out of all those mentioned by MORDEN, which was not extinct in his time." Sir Henry was the second son of Sir Robert Wroth, first Lord Rich, by Mary the eldest daughter of Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, and niece to Sir Philip Sidney. He was knighted by King Charles at Hereford, September 16th, 1645, and died aged 66, in 1671.

The most intimate and truly fraternal perhaps of all Fuller's acquaintance, was Matthew Gilly, esq. of Waltham † To him he thus dedicates the se-

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book of his *Ch. Hist.* He married Anne, daughter of William Lord Maynard. Hence is descended the family of William Henry the late Earl of Rochford and Baron Enfield. The manor-house stood about half a mile east of the road between Ponder's End and Green-street; it was a goodly quadrangle, with a chapel, according to the piety of better times. The barns and some remains of the offices yet remain. See *Robinson's Hist. of Enfield*, vol. ii.

Probably whilst at Waltham Fuller became acquainted with the family of Sir John Bramston, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the reign of Charles I., to whose integrity our author has done ample justice in his *Worthies, Essex*, vol. i. p. 349. His account of Dr. William Gilbert, physician to Queen Elizabeth and a native of Colchester, he received from his near kinsman Mr. William Gilbert of Brental Ely, (?) Suffolk. (Ibid. p. 352.)

† Matthew Gilly, esq. was probably connected either by friendship or relationship or both with the pious Dr. Thos. Westfield, Bishop of Bristol, from whose sole surviving daughter he obtained certain particulars relating to that Bishop, which Fuller inserted in his *Worthies*, vol. i. p. 160,

cond section of the tenth book of his Church History; "Solomon saith, *And there is a friend that is nearer than a brother.*† Now though I have read many writers on the text, your practice is the best comment which hath most truly expounded it unto me. Accept this therefore as the return of the thanks of your respectful friend."

His friend Edward Palmer, ‡ esq. was admitted scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, April 20th, 1610, and fellow, April 4th, 1617. On the death of Andrew Downes in 1625, he was a candidate for the Greek Professorship, as were also Abraham Wheelock, Fellow of Clare Hall, who in 1632 was appointed the first Arabic Professor on the foundation of Sir Thomas Adams; Ralph Winterton of King's College, Regius Professor of Medicine,§

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ed. Nichols. He was possessed of a manor in Little Oakley, near Harwich, in which manor was the Pewit island, about two hundred acres in extent, so called from the pewits, the sole inhabitants thereof. See our author's observations on these birds in his *Worthies, Essex*, vol. i. p. 337.

† Prov. xviii. 24.

‡ The manor house of Giles Waltham, about half a mile south of Chambers, was, in 1621, possessed by Thomas Palmer, esq., third son of Henry of Dewshall in Lambourne. The former was of St. John's College, Cambridge, and an Utter Barrister of Lincoln's Inn. He married Joan daughter of John Hoyben of Canterbury, merchant, and died in this house, without issue, May 28, 1621. *Morant's Essex.*

§ See *Chalmers' Biographia Britannica.* Of the family of this Palmer was William Palmer of Winthrop, Lincolnshire, captain of a troop in the regiment of the Duke of Monmouth.

Robert Creighton of Trinity College, the successful candidate, who had acted as deputy to the late Professor, and James White, M. A. of Sydney College. Sir William Cooke of Gidea Hall near Romford, assisted our author in the first of his literary labours at Waltham, his *Pisgah Sight.*†

At Cheshunt he enjoyed the friendship of Sir Thomas Dacres,‡ and of William Robinson, esq. of the Inner Temple.§ "Samuel Robinson," says Salmon in his '*History of Hertfordshire*,' "hath in his house at Cheshunt an antient head-piece in shape of a cap, which one of his ancestors, fighting under Henry Lord Percy, surnamed Hotspur, against the Scots under Douglas at Hamildon in Northumberland, 1402, in the third year of Henry IV., brought thence. He took it on the head of

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† He was descended from Sir Thomas, who suffered great injustice from Henry VII., who removed from office the upright Chief Justice Sir John Markham, because he would not, contrary to his conscience, declare Sir Thomas guilty of high treason.

‡ Sir Thomas Dacres was sheriff of Hertfordshire 1615, knighted at Theobalds, Feb. 22, 1616, and married Martha daughter of Thomas Elmes, esq. of Lilford, near Aldwincle, Northamptonshire. Sir Thomas died in 1668. See the pedigree of this family in *Cheshunt, Clutterbuck's Hertfordshire.*

§ William Robinson, esq. was twice married, and died April 21, 1686, aged 70 years, and was buried in Cheshunt Church. In this church is also buried Dame Jane Micoe, relict of Sir Samuel; a family also known to Dr. Fuller, who dedicates to Samuel Mico, Alderman of London the sixth section of the 10th book of his *Ch. Hist.*

Murdac Earl of Fife, the Scotch General's son his prisoner, who lost an eye in the action, and Henry IV. gave it him for his arms."

Fuller had not been long settled at Waltham before he published one of his less known but most valuable and best digested works, his *History of the Holy Land*, both geographical and historical, entitled "*A Pisgah Sight of Palestine and the Confines thereof, with the History of the Old and New Testament acted thereon.*" This work he dedicated to Esme Stuart,* the son and heir of that ornament of the Stuart family, and his dear friend James Duke of Richmond and Lenox. This undertaking which, with the maps and plates, must have been a very costly one, Fuller was enabled to complete by the munificence of his friends; some of them have been already mentioned. Besides these were Thomas Fisher, bart.† whose widow was afterwards married to William, second son of Lord Maynard. To this person Fuller dedicated also a section of his *Church History* in the *Reign of Charles I.:* Edward Trussel of London;‡ William Duncombe, gent.;§ Roger North;‖ Anthony

* He died in France a minor aged 11 years, August 14, 1661. There he was attended by Dr. James Fleetwood, afterward Bishop of Worcester, 1675.

† He was the son of Sir Thomas the first baronet of that name, 1627, of St. Giles', Middlesex. The friend of Fuller married Jane, daughter of Sir John Prescot, knight, of Hoxne in Suffolk and died in 1670.

‡ And perhaps of Billesley, Warwickshire.

§ Probably a son of John Duncombe, esq. of Much Brickhill Manor, Bucks., who in 1583 married Cecily, daughter

Thorold, second son of Sir William Thorold; the munificent and pious Sir Paul Pindar of Idenshaw in Cheshire; * Richard Pigot of London; Sir Robert Cordel; Roger Vyvyan allied to the Cornish family of that name; Mr. Thomas Leigh; Fuller's friend and kinsman William Parker, † of a family from Devonshire; William Crane, esq. heir to Sir Francis Crane; ‡ William Honeywood of the antient family of that name, of Evington near Canterbury; Francis St. John, esq., eldest son of Oliver St. John, esq. of Longthorpe, Northamptonshire, § and Stephen Bolton of London.

Nor was this work unworthy of the patronage by which it was heralded into the world. Its author had in his hands and used among other aids, Jerome, Adrichomius, Villalpandus, Bochart, Breidenbachius of Mentz, Brochardus, (who travelled in the Holy Land in 1283), Sandys, Morison, Biddulph, and Bunting's *Travels of the Patriarchs.*

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of Edmund Conquest, esq. of Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire. The estates of this family have descended to the present Lord Feversham, for whom the author will (as in duty bound) ever cordially desire the long and happy enjoyment of them.

‖ Of this family was Sir Francis North, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

* He died in 1705.

† Of this family was Sir Hugh Parker, the first baronet of that name.

‡ Allied to the Colletons of London and Devonshire. W. Crane was of Loughton, Bucks.

§ He was of Emmanuel Coll. Cambridge, and of Lincoln's Inn, and represented Peterborough in several parliaments.

Fuller, and according to him, the majority of the learned in his day were against the opinion that the Jews would again be put in possession of their antient territory. The negative of this opinion he grounds upon the ninth chapter of Amos as interpreted in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts. The opinion of the general conversion of the Jews he shews to be conformable to scripture and to have been maintained in the four first centuries.

He proceeds to treat of the hindrances that opposed their conversion. The first he notices is "our want of civil society with their nation. There must be first conversing with them before there can be converting of them. The gospel doth not work (as the weapon salve) at distance, but requires some competent familiarity with the persons of probationer-converts. Whereas the Jews being *banished* out of England, France, and Spain, are out of the call of the gospel, and ken of the Sacraments in those countries." This is no plea for the insane liberality of those who plead for what they miscall the *emancipation* of the Jews. But it was a degree of genuine liberality beyond the age in which Fuller wrote. The Jews were still under the ban of those laws which forbad their setting foot upon our shores; and this state of utter outlawry they could not escape even by an appeal to Cromwell, who long deliberated on this point, but would not, or at least, did not commit himself to a measure in his time so unpopular as the mere toleration of the Jews.

He notices also the scandal of image worship in the Church of Rome; "and to speak out the plain

truth, the Romanists are but back-friends to the Jews' conversion, chiefly on this account, because the Rabbins generally interpret Dumah (especially on the burden of Dumah, Isa. xxi. 11.) or Edom to be Rome, and Edomites Romans, in their expositions on the Old Testament. And therefore all those passages have (by order no doubt from their superiors) been lately purged out and expunged the Venetian edition of the Rabbins.* Yea, there is a constant tradition, current time out of mind, that after the destruction of the city of Rome, their nation shall be put into a glorious condition. No wonder then, if cold and dull the endeavours of the Romanists for the conversion of the Jews, who leave that task to be performed by Moses and Elias, whom the papists fondly fancy, shall toward the end of the world, personally appear, and by their powerful preaching, persuade the Jewish nation unto the Christian religion."

He then complains of the cruel dissensions of his own age; men of the same faith shedding one another's blood, and exhorts to prayer for the conversion of God's antient Israel, observing that when he shall put to his hand, all impediments shall instantly be removed, as in the days of Hezekiah, that king quickly effected it, because "God had prepared the people, and the thing was done suddenly.†"

He adverts to the great joy of the godly Jews at the conversion of Cornelius, and the probable ex-

* Set forth by *Daniel Bambergius*. † 2 *Chron.* 29. 36.

pectation of the scriptures themselves being better understood, when both Jew and Gentile shall unite their labours to the illustration of them.

Upon whatsoever subject our author treated, his piety was always ready to edify the heart as his industry was incessant to instruct the mind of his reader. Witness his admirable chapters on "*The Land of Moriah*," and on "*the Mysteries of Mount Calvary*."

Some there are in our own age who hold no kind of property sacred except their own, that is private property. The property of the church they tell us, is the property of the state, and the property of the state is the property of the people, so that, if the parliament do but alienate, there can be neither wrong nor robbery. "Indeed," says Dr. Fuller, "some hold that under the gospel the sin of sacrilege cannot be committed. If so, it is either because nothing under the gospel hath been given to God's service, or, because God hath solemnly disclaimed the acceptance of any such donations; which, when, and where it was done, will be hardly produced. If this their position be true, we have cause, first, to rejoice in regard that God and his members are now-a-days grown so rich that they need not addition of human gratuities to be bestowed upon them. Secondly, we may congratulate the felicity of ours above former ages, being not in a capacity of committing the sin of sacrilege, to which those were subject who lived before the time of our Saviour. Lastly, we may silently smile to see how Satan is defeated, having quite

lost one of his ancient baits and old temptations; men now-a-days being secured from this sin, and put past a possibility of being guilty thereof. But before we go thus far, let us first be sure we go on a good ground; otherwise, it is the highest sacrilege to steal away sacrilege itself, and to deny that (which formerly was a grievous) to be any transgression."*

On December 23, 1650, was buried at St. Bennet's, Paul's Wharf, Mr. Edward Norgate, of the Herald's Office. "Exemplary," records Fuller, "his patience in his sickness, (whereof I was an eye-witness) though a complication of diseases, stone, &c. seized upon him." He was the son of Dr. Robert Norgate, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he was born. His mother surviving his father, was married to Dr. Felton, Bishop of Ely, who permitted him to follow his inclination toward painting and heraldry. He was employed in Italy upon the purchase of pictures by the Earl of Arundel. He was afterward made Bluemantle Pursuivant, and then Windsor Herald.†

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* pp. 403, 404.

† *Worthies*, vol. i. p. 167, *Ed. Nichols.*

CHAPTER XI.

Fuller's Abel Redivivus.

FULLER, never more at home than in the department of biography, appeared in 1651 as a contributor to the *Abel Redivivus*. He wrote the *Epistle to the Reader*, and the Lives of Berengarius, Hus, Jerome of Prague, Cranmer, Fox, the martyrologist, Perkins, and Junius. As in his *Church History*, so here, he blames the too great flexibility of Cranmer. So far was his moderation from that party zeal which finds an apology for every defect in the objects of its idolatry. In his life of the martyrologist, John Fox, he cannot overlook how our Fox was indeed a sheep, and suffered accordingly. In his memoir of Perkins, he gives him his full measure of praise, commending his critical skill and learning in the Fathers, as also his judicious handling of cases of conscience, and the practical nature of his public discourses, made up as well of instruction as of exhortation. Perkins, in his *Problems*, anticipated Birkbeck in his *Protestant Evidence*, as both in-

deed had been anticipated by Flacius Illyricus; all shewing with Jewel and others, how the Fathers themselves make against the church of Rome. Bacon had observed of Luther, that finding the living marshalled against him, he raised upon his own side a party from the dead, meaning the Fathers.

The learned Gataker furnished the stationer with Lives of Peter Martyr, Bale, Whitgift, Ridley, Whitaker, and Archbishop Parker. The collection included also *Isaacson's Life of the great Bishop Andrewes*, with an excellent portrait of him. Isaacson, Fuller calls in his Epistle to the Reader, his judicious, industrious, and worthy friend. The Life of Archbishop Whitgift is written concisely, and with great commendations of this prelate by Gataker, himself a monument of learning, and no friend to faction of any kind. The Life of Dr. Andrew Willet, chaplain to Prince Henry, and Rector of Barley, is abridged from the larger life of him written by Dr. Smith, his son-in-law, and prefixed to the fifth edition of his *Synopsis Papismi*. The Life of Archbishop Parker, in p. 328, with the memoirs of Dering, Grindal, Humphreys, Holland, Bishop Babington, and Alexander Nowell, is taken from Holland's *Heroologia*. The foreign Reformers are copied from Melchior Adams. The Lives of Jewell, Abbot Bishop of Salisbury, and Dr. Rainolds, the great controversialist, and President of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, are from the pen of Dr. Daniel Featly, before mentioned.

In this same year were printed, with a sufficiently quaint title, some sermons by Fuller's de-

ceased friend, Dr. Holdsworth. They were entitled *The Valley of Vision, or a clear sight of sundry sacred truths. Delivered in twenty-one sermons.* These discourses are not without the faults of that age, but they display also the fulness of an ingenious and well stored mind. Fuller thus honours his memory in the preface: "How eminent an instrument the author of this treatise was of God's glory and the church's good, is unknown to none, who in the least degree were acquainted with his person and profitable pains. They knew him to be composed of a learned head, a gracious heart, a bountiful hand, and (what must not be omitted) a patient back, comfortably and cheerfully to endure such heavy afflictions as were laid upon him." He was a native of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, was made Professor of Divinity in Gresham College, and about, or before 1630, Rector of St. Peter's le Poor, London. He was one of that multitude of excellent and learned divines who found a patron in Bishop Williams, the patron of Meriton and of Duport; of Ferne, Hacket, and Davenant, prelates whose memory will be had in honour so long as posterity is not ungrateful to the ornaments of former generations. Williams gave him the archdeaconry of Huntingdon and stall of Buckden, on January 12, 1633. In 1637, he was appointed to the Mastership of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he was also Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. In 1645, after he had been sequestered from his other preferments, the King gave him the grant of the Deanry of Worcester, but he was never in-

stalled. He attended Charles I. at Hampton Court and at the Isle of Wight, and dying, August 22, 1649, was buried in the church of St. Peter le Poor.

Fuller being restored to his lectureship at St. Clement's, East Cheap, published in 1652, a small volume of sermons upon *our Lord's Temptation in the Wilderness.* Sermons, probably inferior to few in that age of sermons, and such as to make us regret that we have not more of the same kind from so fertile, ingenious, and devout an author. To these twelve discourses he prefixed two dedications; one to the Rt. Hon. and truly religious, the Lady Isabella, Countess of Northampton; the other, to his constant auditors at St. Clement's, East Cheap.

In the spring of 1653, he was on a visit to Sir Robert Cook, at his seat at Durdans.* In his chapel he preached a sermon entitled, "*Perfection and Peace,*" from those words of the 37th Psalm, "Mark the perfect; behold the upright." It is dedicated with the author's characteristic pleasantness to the Rt. Hon. George Lord Berkeley, then also on a visit at the same place. Here, he observes upon perfection, that in a fourfold respect may a servant of God be pronounced perfect in this life. 1. Comparatively, in reference to wicked men. 2. Intentionally; the drift, scope, and purpose of such a man's life is to desire perfection, which, his desires, are seconded with all the strength of his weak endeavours. He draweth his bow with all

* Near Epsom.

his might, and perfection is the mark he aimeth at, though too often his hand shakes, his bow starts and his arrow misses. 3. Inchoatively; we have here the beginning and the earnest, as of the Spirit, (2 *Cor.* i. 22,) so of all spiritual graces, expecting the full (not payment, because a mere gift, but) receipt of the rest hereafter. In this world, we are a perfecting, and in the next, we shall come to the spirits of just men made perfect.

"But blame me not, beloved, if I be brief in these three kinds of perfections, rather touching than landing at them in my discourse; seeing I am partly afraid, partly ashamed to lay too much stress and weight on such slight and slender foundations. I hasten with all convenient speed to the fourth, which is worth all the rest. A servant of God in this life is perfect, 4. Imputatively; Christ's perfections through God's mercy being imputed to him. If I be worsted in my front, and beaten in my main battle, I am sure I can safely retreat to this my invincible rear: in the agony of temptation we may quit *comparative perfection:* (alas, *relation* is rather a shadow than a substance:) quit intentional perfection, being conscious to ourselves how oft our actions cross our intentions: quit inchoative perfection; for whilst a servant of God compareth the little goodness he hath with that great proportion which by God's law he ought to have, he conceiveth thereof as the pious Jews did of the foundation of the second temple, *Haggai*, ii. 3, *Is it not in your eyes in comparison of it as nothing?* But stick we may and must to imputative perfec-

tion, which indeed is God's act, clothing us with the righteousness of Jesus Christ."

On the 5th of November, he preached from *Genesis*, xlix. 6, "*O my soul, come not thou into their secret.*" Treating of meditation he observes, "Had people this art of entertaining a time to discourse with themselves, it would prevent much mischief. Thou mayst divide thy soul into several parts, and thou mayst discourse if thou wilt, with thy understanding, memory, fancy, and the several affections of thy soul.

"Ask that question of thy understanding which Philip asked of the Eunuch, *Acts* x. *Understandest thou what thou readest?* Call your understanding to account whether you understand what you read or no.

"Ask thy fancy that question which Achish once propounded to King David, *Where hast thou been roving all this day?* Bring thy fancy to account.

"Ask that of thy memory which the master did of the unjust steward, *Luke* xvi. *Give an account of thy stewardship:* ask thy memory what good thou hast treasured up?

"When thou findest thyself transported with mirth, ask thy soul that question God did to Sarah, *Why laughest thou?*

"When thou seest the passion of anger grow too violently upon thee, ask of it that question which God did of the prophet Jonah, *Dost thou well to be angry?*"

Towards the conclusion he says, "Many desire

that this day may not be kept, but forgot, and methinks it looks with a paler colour in the almanack than it used to do; but next year it will be a full jubilee, fifty years since the contrivance thereof. Let all whom God shall lend life unto that day, keep in your minds the memorial of so great a blessing, and preserve the memory thereof. For what principles of false doctrine had infected this land, had this plot taken effect! And, therefore, it shall be my prayer, that God will write thankfulness in your hearts to a continual remembrance of the same."

CHAPTER XII.

Fuller's Infant's Advocate.

IN 1653, our author published his "Infant's Advocate." This little work he dedicated first to the Earl of Carlisle, his patron, and to the Rt. Hon. Lionel Cranfield, Earl of Middlesex, and then in a second dedication to his truly fraternal friend, Matthew Gilly, to his learned parishioner, Edward Palmer, formerly of Trinity College, and to Henry Wollaston, John Vavasor, and Francis Boynton,* also of his parish of Waltham. In the dedication he does not omit to mention the literary celebrity of the place whence this his own little work was sent forth; the introduction of Cranmer to Henry the Eighth; the martyrologist's famous Acts and Monuments, penned in this place, whose posterity was possessed of a considerable estate at Waltham in Fuller's time; and the pious labours of Bishop Hall, most of whose books bear date from Waltham.

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* From the Boyntons of Barnston, in Holderness, Yorkshire.

The first chapter is of *circumcision: what it was, on whom, by whom, and when to be administered: The penalty of wilful recusants therein.* Our author meets the objection, "If circumcision was a sacrament, was there not a neglect in regard of the ratification of the covenant to females?" by the reply, that "though women were not formally, they were virtually circumcised in the males. What is done to the head none will deny done to the body." In the erudite work of Faber, on the Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration, we meet with a twofold answer: "Since females are incapable of circumcision, their case was specially provided for under the law: and they were dedicated to God, and admitted into covenant with him, through the medium of purification and sacrifice. See *Levit.* xii. 5—8.

"Among the Jews the principle was reasonably understood to be, that in the summing up of God's people, the females, as help-meets, were to be viewed as sub-included with the males." This Faber supports by the testimony of *Buxtorf Synagog. Judaic.** The objection is one of those that are adduced by Bishop Bethell and others against the correspondence of circumcision and baptism.† It may not be without its use to some who may peruse these pages, to observe, that Bishop Bethell's "*General View of the Doctrine of Regeneration in Baptism,*" is recommended by Dr. Pusey in his "*Letter to the Bishop of Oxford,*" "as a very clear

* *Faber*, B. ii. c. 3, p. 107.

† *Bethell on Regeneration in Baptism*, p. 64, *London*. 1821.

and full statement of the true doctrine as it regards the connection of regeneration and baptism." *

Circumcision was administered, remarks Fuller, generally by the master of the family. We see that the head was the priest of the family in the patriarchal age. What may be called the patristical mystery of the eighth day, may be found in the ninety-seventh page, of the third chapter of Faber's *second book:* "For no other reason must we believe, that the circumcision of children on the eighth day was divinely enjoined to the ancient Fathers, except to signify the regeneration that is in Christ: who, after the sabbatical seventh day, during which he lay in the grave, delivered up on account of our offences, on the following day, that is, the eighth, rose again for our justification." †

Fuller argues against the supposition of eternal wrath being the sentence of uncircumcised children, inasmuch as not they, but those who caused the neglect, were *the breakers of the covenant.*

The second chapter is entitled "Circumcision considered as a seal of the Gospel covenant; and what spiritual graces were conveyed and confirmed thereby." Here he shows that the Abrahamic, Jewish and Christian covenant are essentially one. Why then is the last called a *new* covenant? he answers, that is often in Scripture called new which is remembered, and especially, if it is also more clearly unfolded. Thus (*John* xiii. 34.) our Lord calls that a new commandment which was never-

* P. 119. † *August contra Julian Pelag.* lib. vi. c. 7.

theless *from the beginning*, though latterly almost obliterated by man's vindictiveness. Christ consecrated for us *a new and living way*. *Heb.* x. 20: Yet it is the same with the prophet's old path. *Jer.* vi. 16.

Nor was the covenant made with the Jews a mere covenant of works. In the second commandment we have mention of mercy. "Now *mercy* is a *shiboleth* which a covenant of works can never pronounce." As for Abraham God promised to be a God to him. *Gen.* xvii. 7. This very phrase is a gospel-phrase. Parallel is the expression *God with us*. So St. Paul expounded it. *Rom.* iv. 11. But if the Abrahamic was a covenant of faith, why so little mention of *faith* in the Old Testament? The *trusting* in God so often set forth in the *Old* is the same with *faith* in the *New* Testament. The Jews were no more entirely without spiritual than the Christian without temporal promises. 1 *Tim.* iv. 8.

The third chapter treats of the "several acceptations of the *seed* of Abraham in Scripture." In these are included the proselytes, aliens by extraction, Jews by profession. The first of these were Abraham's own household not his children. Then the mixed multitude that went up with the Israelites out of Egypt. *Exod.* xii. 38. and afterward the *Gibeonites*. *Josh.* ix. 27. also Rahab the Hittite, Ruth the Moabitess, Naaman the Syrian and others.

The fourth chapter proves that "all visible members of the Jewish Church had a federal right to the sacraments." See *Joh.* viii. 37. *Rom.* ix. 4. and also 1 *Cor.* x. 2-4.

In the fifth chapter the objection of the incapacity of infants to covenant is considered. This chapter is not without some subtilties more deep than profitable. But our author well supports the acceptableness of the faith of parents in bringing their children to this sacrament, from the history of the poor man who was let down by cords into the place where our Saviour was; of whom it is recorded that *their faith* was regarded by our Lord. *Matth.* ix. 2, and so in *Sts. Mark* and *Luke.*

The sixth chapter is entitled "Circumcision considered as a sign, and what mysteries were signified therein:" in one word, the circumcision of the heart. The seventh proves that Baptism succeeds to all the essentials of circumcision. So *Coloss.* ii. 11, 12.

The eighth treats of "what it is *to reason out of the Scriptures;* and what credit is due to deductions from God's Word." Here he argues well from our Lord's apparently far-fetched proof of the resurrection. *Matth.* xxii. 31, 32.

The ninth gives "the first reason for the baptizing of infants, taken from the analogy of circumcision." I know not how the semblance of an objection can be alleged against this. Little less forcible is the second reason given in the tenth chapter, and drawn from the birth-holiness of Christian infants. 1 *Cor.* vii. 14.

The eleventh chapter contains "*the third* reason, taken from the Holy Spirit, which is given to little Infants." For the possibility of this was alleged *Jer.* i. 5. and *Luke* i. 41.

The twelfth adduces "the fourth reason drawn from some degrees of *faith*, conferred on little infants." This is sought to be proved by *Heb.* xi. 6. Our author would have done better had he confined himself to *St. Mark* x. 14. of which he treats in the latter half of this chapter.

The fifth reason is drawn "from the malady of original corruption." For this purpose is adduced *Rom.* vi. 3 and 6.

The sixth reason is drawn from the constant practice of Christian Churches in all ages; and this, which forms the fourteenth chapter, contains a brief dissertation on the credit due to primitive customs. Fuller argues that the promise "Lo I am with you always unto the end of the world" is to be understood of the Church collectively as an immortal corporation, that the Church shall not be suffered to be universally infected in all ages with any one dangerous error. Our author not unseasonably enlarges upon 1 *Cor.* xi. 16.

He next proceeds to prove the antiquity and generality of infant baptism by the confession of Pelagius: his *tacit* confession who doubtless would have denied its antiquity if he could, and who had abundant means and opportunities of information.

In the sixteenth chapter our author answers "the grand objection drawn from the silence of Scripture herein." He begins by reminding the objectors that a curse is denounced upon such as take away from, as well as, upon those who add to the Scriptures. He then treats of the Divine appointment of synagogues. Our Lord and his apostles repaired

to them. Yet where is the building of them expressly *enjoined* in Scripture? It is indeed implied in the due observance of the Sabbath, and to have neglected to worship in them would have been impiety.

The jailor was baptized, he and all his. But in this expression *all his*, compared with *Job* i. 12. children are included.

The seventeenth chapter answers the objection drawn from the inability of infants to repent and believe. After some speculations more curious than edifying, he retreats back to the impregnable position that this cannot be a bar to their covenanting in baptism, any more than it was to the Jewish children in circumcision.

Other objections are answered in the following chapter. He prefers our version, "*Go and teach*" to "Go and disciple all nations."

The nineteenth chapter is thus entitled, "Whether the children of profane parents, bastards, exposed children and the captive infants of Pagans are to be baptized;"—a learned and ingenious chapter.

The last notices the modern origin of Anabaptism, which he derives from Balthasar Pacimontanus in 1527, and next, from the Socinians in 1567.

Then follows one of his best discourses, from *Phil.* iii. 15. "How we ought to behave ourselves to those of a different judgment herein, in order to reclaim them." It was preached on Feb. 6, 1652, at Mercer's Chapel, to which company he was probably Lecturer, as he places them amongst his benefactors in his CHURCH HISTORY.

As in this age of the *sifting* of the church, most of the controversies of Fuller's times have been revived, so, amongst other topics, baptism now takes a conspicuous place.

Our Saviour declared the necessity of a new and spiritual birth, in order to our entering into the kingdom of God. Now as the visible kingdom the church is designed to be a school of discipline and instruction for their benefit and advancement in holiness who shall be partakers of the heavenly and eternal kingdom, so such a preparation as the new birth may be at first sight expected to take into itself a spiritual change, and not a mere change of profession. But our Lord's words put this beyond all doubt, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit." So regeneration is called in our Liturgy, "spiritual regeneration." Baptism, setting forth regeneration, represents a death unto sin and a new life unto righteousness, and the receiving that, which by nature we cannot have—a divine power to live holily unto God. Not only in the *third chapter* of the gospel according to *St. John*, but in the *first*, regeneration is treated of. "He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." *St. John* i. 11-13. And so *St. James* (i. 18.) "Of his own will begat He us with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of firstfruits of his

creatures." So *St. Peter*, (i. 1.23.) "Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever."

The third chapter of St. John's gospel, interpreted by these passages, leaves it beyond dispute that regeneration, however and in whatever sense connected with baptism, is a moral and spiritual change, the receiving a new principle, the seed of a divine life, a change of the affections, a secret influence working upon the heart, and preparing it for the blessed inheritance of the children of God. By regeneration we become children of God; being born of His Spirit.

Our blessed Saviour having appointed baptism as the way of admission into his visible church, and many thousands of adults coming to holy baptism, it was natural to call baptism itself regeneration, and to speak of it as such in an ecclesiastical, as we have seen that a spiritual and internal change is regeneration in a theological sense.

Moreover, the church then acknowledged a convert to be a child of God, when he was baptized; not but that it supposed faith to exist in that person previously, but then did it see the obedience of faith when the convert by baptism took on him the Christian name.

What then if the Fathers may sometimes appear to attribute more to baptism than to faith, and to the water than to the Holy Ghost; if they call him unregenerate who is unbaptized; we should not surely prefer any conclusions deduced from their

language to the express assertions of the scriptures, which teach us that by faith in the word of God, and that faith produced by the Holy Ghost, we are made his children. Nay, in the case of unbaptized martyrs, the ancients themselves were fain to lose sight of that strictness of connection between regeneration and baptism, for which some amongst the moderns are indiscreetly zealous; and to excuse themselves by the poetical conception of the baptism of blood. It was, however, common to the Fathers to attribute to the sign the things represented or signified by it. Thus Lactantius in the twenty-sixth chapter of the third book of his Institutes. His own words at the commencement modify his words at the conclusion of this passage. "Give me a man who is passionate, abusive, unbridled: with a few words of God, I will make him as mild as a lamb. Give me one who is exacting, avaricious, tenacious: I will return him to you liberal, and with full hands a dispenser of his wealth. Give me one who fears pain and death: he shall presently despise the cross, and the fire, and the (infuriated) bull. Give me a libertine, an adulterer, a fornicator: you shall forthwith see him sober, chaste, continent. Give me a man who is cruel and bloodthirsty: that, his fury, shall soon be changed into true clemency. Give me an unjust person, a man of folly and of sin, he shall forthwith become just, and wise, and innocent. For in the laver alone [*uno enim lavacro*] all his wickedness shall be abolished."*

* See *Faber's Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration*, pp. 41, 42.

Accordingly, the doctrine of the sacraments working indiscriminately, they knew not. St. Jerome, on the third chapter of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians, saith, "If any one has received only that washing which is of the body, and which is seen by the eyes of the flesh, he hath not put on the Lord Jesus Christ."* So Cyril of Jerusalem: "Simon Magus approached to the washing: he was baptized, but he was not enlightened. His body indeed he baptized with water, but his heart he enlightened not with the Spirit: his body descended and ascended, but his soul was not buried along with Christ, nor was it raised again with him."† Similar is the language of Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine.‡ The latter says, "All may be baptized: but the children of God are known from the children of the devil only by charity. Those who have charity have been born of God: those who have it not, have not been born of God."§

As to the inward change from spiritual darkness, or the love of evil, to light, or the love of goodness, Clement of Alexandria answers, "You cannot say the exact time." Mr. Faber has excellently commented upon the place whence this is taken, the sixth chapter of the first book of his Pædagogus. Some there are who admit of no assurance of

* See *Faber's Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration*, p. 43.

† *Cyril of Jerusalem. Catech. in Proem.* p. i. ii. *Faber*, p. 55.

‡ *Ibid.* pp. 55-60.

§ In 1 Ep. *Joan. Tract.* v. Op. vol. ix. p. 220. *Faber*, p. 59. *Ambros. de Mysteriis.* c. iv.

justification, or remission, after the baptized have fallen away into sin. This was far from the doctrine of the antient church. Thus, with one voice, Athanasius, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine declare that repentance repairs the fall of such. Athanasius speaks of the baptism through water, the baptism of martyrdom, and the baptism through tears. St. Ambrose speaks of repairing the first cup, the water of Jordan, the water of grace, with the second, the water of tears, the water of penitence or conversion. St. Jerome saith, "Under the law, he who was cutting wood, if the head of his axe should accidentally fly off, and kill a man, was commanded to go to the city of refuge, and there to remain until a high-priest should rise up. That is, let a man be redeemed with the blood of the Saviour, either in the house of baptism, or in penitence, which imitates the grace of baptism, through the unspeakable grace of the Saviour, who willeth not that any should perish, and delighteth not in the death of sinners, but that they should be converted and live." *

The water of baptism was an emblem of the purifying influence of the Holy Ghost, as the hyssop was a type of the cleansing virtue of the true Paschal Lamb, our Lord and Saviour. Hence a man may be truly born of God, who has not been

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* *Athan. Quæst. ad Antioch. Qu.* 72. *Opii.* p. 296. *Amb. in Ps.* xxxvii. 10, 11. *Jerome. adv. Pelagium.* l. i. c. 10. *Augustine de Baptismo c. Donat.* lib. iv. c. 14, 15, 17. *Faber*, pp. 168, 172.

baptized, but not who profanely despises baptism: as St. Augustine saith, "Baptism may be present, where conversion of the heart is wanting: and contrariwise, conversion of the heart may be present, where baptism has not been received; not, however, where it has been despised. For we may by no means say, that there is conversion of the heart to God, when the sacrament of God is despised."* Tertullian in his work on Repentance saith, "We are baptized, not that we may cease from sinning, but because we have ceased, inasmuch as we have *already been washed in heart.*" †

Thus let the Fathers modify and explain themselves, and they will be found to be more scriptural and to deserve much more commendation than even some of their greatest admirers give them. For in truth they were themselves content to stand or fall by the scriptures; they went for their doctrines to the text of scripture as the supreme authority; and the traditions they contended for, they for the most part grounded upon scripture. They did not make such pretences to apostolic traditions as some have made for them, excepting the tradition or handing down of the doctrines summed up in the creed, and brought to the mind of the Christian by the repetition of the creed, as we see it introduced and unfolded in the great Bishop Andrewes' *Manual of Devotions.*

It is maintained by some, that whilst baptism and regeneration are cotemporaneous, baptism is

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* *Lib.* iv. c. 25. *Faber.* p. 209. † § 7. *Faber*, p. 216.

not the renewal of the inward frame, and yet that it is the gift of the Holy Ghost.* These tell us that "when religious instruction and moral discipline are neglected, regeneration in baptism is productive of no practical effects. The infused virtue of the Holy Ghost is, to speak in the mildest terms, dormant and inactive." With these divines, the Holy Spirit is a gift, and yet it does not enrich; it is a power, and yet it produces no effects; it is Life, and yet, to thousands who have it, it is not life. Yet if any man have the Spirit, he is truly a Christian, he has true life, he is truly a child of God, and calls God his Father.†

Here however this limitation is perhaps not to be passed over, that the Holy Spirit is not visible in all his operations; he may produce effects invisibly, which will hereafter be followed by others that are visible. But in such cases it cannot be said that He is inoperative; a dormant power, a lifeless energy. Our Saviour blessed the little children that were brought to him. There we may believe that real effects followed, although they might be invisible; but it is a verbal and unreal distinction to say that the Holy Ghost is given to no purpose; it works upon all in some way, upon all to whom it comes. It works as well on those who resist, as on those who yield to it. It leaves its witness with all; some it more powerfully works upon, according to its own sovereign

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* *Bishop Bethell on Regeneration in Baptism*, p. 67.

† *Rom.* viii. *Gal.* iv.

freedom; others it suffers to resist it, and returns not to them; or rather it leaves them to their own choice, and they refuse its help.

By some we are told that all children are undoubtedly regenerated in baptism, and that as God baptizes and not man, it is unreasonable as well as heretical to represent the virtue of the sacrament as at all depending upon the sincerity of the sponsors, or upon the prayers that are offered up in the course of divine service. Those prayers, we are taught, are rather a matter of form than really requisite to the baptismal service. Whether the sponsors have faith or not, it is, of course, to be found in the universal church; but the children are baptized in the faith of the church, therefore they rightly receive baptism. Moreover the children themselves present no bar to the grace of the sacrament: so says St. Cyprian, and is he not much better than any later authority? Let us consider whether this chain of assertions is so indissoluble as it is often represented.

Now our own church having laid down that repentance and faith are required of such as would be baptized, asks, "*Why then are infants baptized, when by reason of their tender age they cannot perform these conditions?*" The answer is not "Because they present no bar to the sacrament," but "*Because they promise them both by their sureties;* which promise when they come to age, themselves are bound to perform." Do you ask, why are they called upon to make these promises? The reason may be shewn from the unchanging

obligation of the creature to yield himself to the service of his Creator, much more of his Redeemer. The whole Jewish people, from the oldest to the youngest, were repeatedly called upon to enter thus into covenant with God. In the baptismal service we ask for mercy and grace for those who come to this sacrament; we ask that we may obtain. It is but a natural inference that if we ask not aright, if we ask not in faith, we shall not receive that which we pray for, namely, the gift of the Holy Spirit for those infants whom we bring to holy baptism. And that the blessing of the sacrament depends upon prayer, and if so, upon the sincerity of prayer, we may gather from the church having appointed that at least some of the collects shall be used in private baptism, and not the mere form of baptism. So in the Homily on swearing; "By *holy promises*, with calling of the name of God to witness, we be made lively members of Christ, when we profess his religion, receiving the sacrament of baptism." *

It has been already said that children are capable of some degrees of divine influence. Even prior to faith they may be prepared to receive the seed of the divine word, and parents may be happy in the belief that God will hear their prayers for their offspring, as he accepted Samuel at the hands of his mother, as he accepted John the Baptist, as he accepted Jeremiah. But how can this sacrament be other than profaned, when all who come to it come only to perform a mockery of God? Is

* P. 62. *London*, 1817.

there in such cases no such thing to be dreaded as the visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children? Is there no guard around the majesty of the divine law? Where, at least, do the scriptures teach that the very forms and words of the holy mysteries have a transforming power, and an irresistible efficacy? Or how comes it that the zealous opponents of irresistible mercy and grace readily admit such grace when it passes through the sacerdotal medium of their own office? They call it the humility of faith. Others will regard it as an opinion really derived from superstitious weakness and spuriously apostolical traditions, or from a spiritual pride that will recover a papal authority under the mask of reformed catholicism.

Those who have advocated the necessary and inseparable connection of regeneration with baptism, have affirmed that whatsoever change takes place in the heart and life after baptism, is to be called *renovation* not *regeneration*. But they have been far from urging so complete a renovation as that of the scriptures; they have been more zealous in palliating human nature, and in accommodating the great principles of the gospel to the prejudices of human pride, than in preparing the heart by self-abasement and humility, conviction of sin and contrition for it, to receive the perfect purity of divine truth, a purity and perfection that are never received but by that humility which springs out of the love of Christ, love magnified in the freeness of his grace; love then felt, when in ourselves we see guilt that nothing but infinite

mercy could forgive, and weakness that only infinite grace could relieve. Then are we new creatures, when we love not ourselves, but Him who bought us with his precious blood. True renovation is in the sanctifying power of the love of Jesus.

He who is convinced of this, and knows it in his heart, will not be content with urging a partial change. No partial change of heart and life can fit us for eternity, eternity with God and his holy angels. If the heart is deceitful above all things, it is not for the minister of God to expatiate upon the beauty of the broken fragments of the divine image; but to lead men rather to contemplate the height from which they have fallen, the corruption to which they have sunk. The poet may draw from imagination, but the faithful historian will shew that nothing is too base for man to attempt; and daily experience lessens our surprise at the iniquity with which the world abounds. The Christian believes that in his own heart are the seeds of pollution sufficient to destroy a world. But he loves not divine perfection the less. He that trusteth in his own heart is a fool, and he who believes all kindly and great things of human nature will trust in his own heart.

Whether it be called conversion or regeneration, or repentance, or renovation, a great change is declared in Holy Scripture to be absolutely required of all that would be saved: "If any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold! all things are become new." 2 *Cor.* v. 17. A new heart aiming by the love of Christ to

live to him, to the glory of God; a heart satisfied with nothing less than an increasing union with the will of God; a heart purified from self-love, despising the attractions of earth, mortifying its own evil passions, and counting nothing so dear as the knowledge of the love of Christ, shewn forth in our Redemption. And is not this a new heart to him that hath it? Is this the state in which we are born? Is it not a daily renovation, a daily death unto sin, and new life unto righteousness? And would it not be in fact a spiritual regeneration, if it were experienced by the greater part of baptized Christendom?

CHAPTER XIII.

Fuller's Triple Reconciler.

FULLER, in 1654, put forth two sermons dedicated to the Lady Elizabeth Newton, of Charlton, in Kent; as a memorial of his friendship, and of his intention ere this to have visited her, and to have preached these two sermons before her. The first, entitled *Comfort in Calamity*, was preached on a *special occasion*, in St. Clement's Church, London, near East Cheap. In this sermon, he thus alludes to the times. "Come we now to that point which we conceive both pertinent to the text, and profitable for our times, namely, to give advice how people should behave themselves, if God should for their sins condemn them to live in a time and place wherein the *foundations of religion* (so far as they are destroyable) should be destroyed.*

"Be it here premised, that nothing herein is spoken out of reflection to the present times, to fill

* The text being *Psalm* xi. 3.

the heads or hearts of people with jealousies of any design, as intended at the present, to blow up the foundations of religion. And yet, give me leave to say, that some months since, had we gone on the same pace we began, a few steps farther would have brought all to a sad condition; so that the lawyers might even have drawn up the will of expiring divinity, and the divines performed the funerals of dying law in this nation. But, blessed be God that, since that time, confusion is confounded, and some hopes given of a better condition. In a word, if religion be no whit the nearer to the *making*, in all probability it is something the farther from the undoing." *

In this sermon, which is evidently tinctured with the regrets of the author, is a remark, not without its application to our own day; in which so many think it enough to decide their judgments, to allege that this or the other excellent person is their precedent. "Secondly, we except such (from *willing consenting*) as have been fraudulently circumvented instrumentally to concur to the destroying of foundations, clean contrary to their own desires and intents, as erroneously conceiving they supported the foundations, when really they destroyed them. This commonly cometh to pass by *having men's persons in admiration:* (*Jude* 16.) so that possessed with the opinion of their piety, they deliver up their judgments as their *act and deed*, signed and sealed to them, to believe and practise,

* pp. 26, 27.

without denial, doubt, or delay, whatsoever the others shall prescribe."*

The second sermon had been preached at St. Mary's, Cambridge, probably as an Assize Sermon, from *Rev.* xx. 12, "*And the books were opened.*" He treats first of the doom of heathens, then of Christians. This little treatise (for so it may be called) discovers the reverence and holy modesty of its ingenious author; his unwillingness to define and decide, where scripture itself is silent, or where only probable reasons can be urged. He was indeed no friend to enlarging *consequential* divinity, a defect but too common to theologians of very opposite opinions. He condemns that false and immodest fear which some evince of not vindicating all the ways of God to *sight;* a fear, in short, lest God should be unjust. Such, he says, are "*jealous over God with an unholy jealousy*, fearing where no fear is; and it proceedeth from a principle of atheism, seeing it springeth from the same root, to deny a God, and to doubt that God will appear just in manifesting his own proceedings."†

After a notice of the heathen, any thing but disparaging, Fuller concludes that, "yet even the best of these, in the strictness of God's justice, may be condemned when the books are opened. For, grant that in some particular actions they may be said morally to supererogate, yet in other things they were defective, and fell short of the just measure of God's commands, according to the *moral light* manifested unto them.

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* P. 54. † P. 69.

"Had *pride* been the weapon whereat a duel had been fought betwixt Alexander and Diogenes, probably the conqueror of the world had been worsted by a poor philosopher.

"Who hath more golden sentences than Seneca against the contempt of gold? Yet, (if Tacitus and other of his contemporaries may be credited) none more rich, none more covetous than he; as if out of design he had persuaded others to cast away their money, that he himself might come and gather it up again." *

He concludes then in the following page, "they are left under the wrath of God, and weight of their sin, and without any ordinary way to a Saviour.

"I say *ordinary*. I confess it is a *gospel-truth* that in the name of Jesus only salvation is to be expected; and it is a maxim no less sound than generally received, *extra ecclesiam nulla salus, Out of God's church no hope to be saved;* if both be confined to *common dispensations* and the regular known way of God's manifesting himself. But how far forth it might please God to reveal Christ to such heathens on their death-beds, by peculiar favour, out of the road of his *common kindness*, and how far forth God, as an *universal creator*, may be pleased to indulge unto some eminent *heathen persons*, is curious for man to inquire, and impossible to determine. Leave we them, therefore, to stand or fall to their own master;

* Pp. 60, 61.

only adding this, that it will be far better at the last day of judgment for these *Christian Pagans*, as I may term them, than for many Pagan Christians amongst us now-a-days, who are worse under the sunshine of grace in the gospel, than they be by the dim candle-light of nature.

"Come we now to Christians; where the difficulty is the less to prove, that they all shall be arraigned, and may justly be condemned, when the books are opened: which will plainly appear on the serious perusal of the following particulars.

"First, that to all persons living within the pale of the church, Christ hath really and cordially, *sine fuco et dolo*, without any fraud or deceit, been tendered unto them under the conditions of faith and repentance, *that whosoever believeth on him should have everlasting life:* and this will appear *when the books shall be opened.*

"Secondly, that even the worst of men living under the *light* of the *gospel*, have at one time or another their heads filled with good notions, and their hearts with good motions; Grace illuminating, wooing, and courting them, as I may say, to lay hold on God in his promises: on the truth whereof their own consciences will be deposed; and so this will appear *when the books are opened.*

"Thirdly, that God standeth ready, on man's good improvement of the aforesaid *illuminating grace*, (though not for the merit of man's performances, but for his own mere mercy and promise sake) to crown their endeavours with the addition and accession of farther *degrees of grace*, even

such as infallibly *accompany salvation*. For I shall never be of their opinions, who parallel God's proceedings with those of Adonibezek (*Judges* i. 7,) who put seventy kings under his table, there to gather up crumbs, which probably did very plentifully fall down unto them; whereas he before-hand had taken order that their thumbs were cut off; their thumbs, I say, which alone of all the fingers are of the Quorum, to the gathering or grasping of any thing; and whose effectual correspondency with the rest of the hand, is absolutely necessary to the taking up of any small thing, especially if lying *in plano*, on a floor or flat place. I say, I must dissent from those who make God such a tyrant, as sportingly and spitefully to proffer grace to wicked men, when by a *previous act*, without any fault or refusal of theirs, he hath rendered them incapable of the acceptance of that which he offereth unto them. No surely, God doth no way before-hand maim or disable them from enjoying the benefit of grace tendered unto them; but on the other side, is prepared to increase their store, and add to them, which use the utmost of their power to increase those talents which they have already received. And this will appear to be true, *when the books shall be opened*.

"Fourthly, No man hath made that improvement of grace offered which he ought and might. Many a time he hath stayed at home when he should have been at church: many times he hath been at church either sleeping, or not attending there: many a time he hath attended, yet after-

wards forgotten what he heard: many times he hath remembered it, and it hath been his *remembrancer*, yet he hath quenched the *heat* in his *heart*, and the *light* in his understanding. And all this will appear true, *when the books shall be opened.*

"Fifthly, Upon our not improving God's grace offered us in his word, God *qui non deserit nisi deseratur*, who leaves none unless he be first left by them, is not bound to add more *grace:* yea, he may justly withdraw what he hath given; and, which is more, may judicially harden those from whom his grace is withdrawn, for making no better use thereof when tendered unto them. And all this shall appear *when the books shall be opened.*

"In a word, the transactions of that day will be a perfect comment on those words of the prophet Hosea (xiii. 9,) *O Israel thou hast destroyed thyself, but in me is thine help.* All such who are condemned, shall cast the blame thereof on themselves; whilst those whom God shall be pleased to save, will in their consciences confess they might most justly be damned *when the books shall be opened.* And seeing a *Saviour* hath by his death purchased for them *repentance, faith,* and *perseverance* to the end (because he would not trust this perverse freedom of their will with the acceptance or refusal of grace) they shall for ever sing *hallelujahs* to the praise of the undeserved mercy and goodness of God in their salvation."*

Fuller, in this discourse makes mention of the

* Pp. 62—67.

venerable Judge Doddridge. The name will be a sufficient ground for its introduction in this place. "There was lately a judge in England, whom I need not be ashamed to name, as the honour of his robe and profession, viz. Justice Doddridge, whom they commonly called the sleeping Judge. Indeed, he had an affected drowsy posture on the bench, insomuch that many persons unacquainted with his custom therein, having causes of concernment to be tried before him, have even given all for lost, as expecting no justice from a dormant judge: when he all the while did only retire himself within himself, to consult with his own soul about the validity of what was alleged and proved unto him; as appeared afterwards by those oracles of law which he pronounced." *

The unfeigned piety and practical spirit of the preacher are exemplified in his warning against the commission of what men term *small sins*.†

In this year also appeared his "*Triple Reconciliation*," stating the controversies, whether ministers have an exclusive power of repelling communicants from the Sacrament: whether any persons unordained may lawfully preach: whether the Lord's Prayer ought not to be used by all Christians. This little book which consists of sermons upon these topics is dedicated to "the Right Honourable, and truly virtuous Lady, Anne, Viscountess Baltinglass," and breathes in every page the Christian moderation of its author. The first topic is based

* P. 72. † P. 73.

upon *Leviticus*, xiii. 3. "*And the priest shall look on him, and pronounce him unclean.*" The first sermon is of temporal leprosy only, and is interspersed with a variety of curious observations.

In the second sermon (beginning at p. 12,) he classes himself with the Eclectics thus: "I intend in like manner to be a *chooser* in this point. (Grand the difference between a *chooser* and a *seeker* of our age; the former is *positive*, the latter *sceptical*, hovering over all, settling on nothing). I know no reason that we are bound to take one and all in any persuasion. Three great interests may be named in England: one that was,—Prelatical; one that is,—the Presbyterian; one that would be,—the Independent. I shall embrace whatever I find in any of their practices commendable, and consonant to *God's word*, making use of my *Christian liberty*, to leave the rest, which, in my *weak judgment*, may seem subject to just exception." *

He thus decides the first question: "There are some places of Scripture, which, by proportion and consequence do more than probably insinuate such a power (i. e. of examination and exclusion from the sacrament,) in the minister. First, for examining, *Heb.* xiii. 17. *Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves, for they watch for your souls as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief, for that is unprofitable for you.* God, foreseeing that in after ages, the minister in a church might be but

* P. 13.

one, the parishioners many; he, perchance poor, they rich; he possibly young, they grave and ancient; saw there would be an humour of opposition in them to submit to their pastor, and, therefore, thought it necessary to leave this command on record. Now the best *auditor* cannot give an account of them whose receipts and expenses he hath not examined, and, therefore, by consequence it may be collected, that they may and must try the conditions and abilities of their people. *Prov.* xxvii. 21. *Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thy herds.*

"Secondly, for excluding, where be it premised, that if an examining power can be demonstrated in the ministers, a power of exclusion doth by necessary and undeniable consequence follow thereupon." He then notices that many apply to this topic 2 *Chron.* xxiii. 19, and *Matth.* vii. 6, as also his text, *Levit.* xiii. 3; but cautions against applying this passage in all respects; for the high priest alone was intended in it. Some, he observes, were foolish enough to allege 1 *Pet.* iii. 15. He cautions ministers against exacting too much knowledge, especially, of the young.* He excludes persons virtually excommunicated, that is, such as live in the practice of a notorious sin excommunicable in itself, though the sentence be not solemnly passed upon them. "I say, *notorious sin.* Blessed be God, surreptitious sins of infirmity do not render us incapable of the Sacrament; if they did, God's table

* Pp. 15—19.

would stand utterly unfurnished, without any either to administer or receive those *holy mysteries.*

"Now sins must be notorious two manner of ways: 1. *Quoad naturam;* 2. *Quoad notitiam.* First, *quoad naturam;* the sin being horrible and heinous in its own nature, such a sin as is not only mortal, as all sins are, but *mortiferum,* if God's mercy doth not interpose: an examination whereof is needless, as generally known.

"By the way, there is a notorious sin in the nature thereof, which notwithstanding, in defiance of opposition, forceth his access unto the Sacrament, namely, *the sin of oppression.* How great this is, doth appear by the words of Solomon, *Eccles.* vii. 7. *Oppression maketh a wise man mad;* that is, wise men being oppressed above their strength, to comport therewith, oft times break forth into *mad extravagancies.* Now, having formerly shewed how madmen are to be prohibited the Communion, quod efficit tale, magis est tale: *what makes so is more so.* Oppressors, sure, ought not to receive. But, alas! such their power, that, if pleased, they will command their own passage to the Communion in spite of the minister's opposition, God alone, being able to punish their presumption therein.

"Secondly, the sin must be notorious, *quoad notitiam,* so that general cognizance is taken thereof, to the public scandal of the congregation."

This liberty, he observes, was allowed the minister by the Rubric in the Liturgy.* It is impos-

* P. 23.

sible to keep hypocrisy from this sacrament.* "*Young people*, be they never so great or gracious, are at first to be examined by the minister before admitted to the sacrament. Most noble Theophilus may be an instance hereof: *Luke* i. 4, *that thou mayest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed*, i. e. *catechized*. And, although it appears not in the text, that such catechizing of him was done by the minister, yet it is easy to prove out of primitive antiquity, that *catechumeni* was a degree of young Christians, candidates for the sacrament."†

He then complains of the indiscretion of some ministers in regard of such examinations. "I speak it upon the complaint of those whose report with me is above exception, how many difficult, yet frivolous questions have been propounded unto them; as, what God did before he created the world? Where the soul of Lazarus was in the three days' interval, whilst his body laid in the grave? A question which he, who propounded it, I believe, was as ignorant of, as the party to whom it was propounded. Others have been too *stern* and *morose*, in not accepting true and pertinent answers, if not coming up to the very top of what was demanded. Thus, when one was asked what God was, the party, no less modestly than truly, replied, *God is a spirit;* to whom the minister returned, 'And so is the Devil too:' enough to dash and daunt a *softly spirit*, which rather deserved encouragement.

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* P. 24. † *Ibid.*

It is reported of *Bishop Hooper*, that worthy martyr, in the days of Queen Mary, (and a *Cartwright*, before *Mr. Cartwright*, I mean the great patron of nonconformists,) that when an honest citizen, in a conflict of conscience, came to his door for counsel, being abashed at his *austere behaviour*, he durst not come in, but departed, seeking remedy for his *troubled mind* at other men's hands." *

Fuller then lays down, that examination ought to suffice once for all, and not to be made a prerequisite upon each act of communion. He then condemns those who are too remiss in regard of admitting persons to communicate, "requiring no more than the general profession of Christianity, a reverend posture of the body, and a hand reached out to receive." † "We may observe," says Fuller, "a great difference between the places of Christ's preaching and administering the Sacrament." All were admitted to the one, but disciples only to the other. He proceeds to the case of Judas, so frequently referred to on the contrary side.

"The maintainers of this opinion of promiscuous communions, proceed upon a double error: first, on the example of Judas, one of the worst of men, yet not thought bad enough by Christ himself to be excluded the sacrament. Here they take that for decided which is disputed, that for concluded which is controverted; *adhuc sub judice lis est;* it hangeth as yet on the file, and the number and worth of ancient writers on the negative, are almost

* Pp. 25, 26. † P. 28.

even with those which affirm his receiving. But suppose he did receive the sacrament (which in my particular opinion I *do* believe) it maketh nothing for the advantage of those which urge it in this behalf.

"For, first, Judas was completely qualified for a communicant; first with knowledge, whereof he had too much, except he had used it better, whose eminent parts were like unto those torches and lanterns abused by him to apprehend and betray our Saviour: secondly, with such *seeming holiness*, that none of his fellow-disciples could detect, or did suspect him for unfaithfulness: else needless had the question been of John to Christ, *Lord who is it?* (*Joh.* xiii. 25,) had he not carried it so cunningly that no common jealousy centred on him as *a traitor in intention*.

"Objection. Christ as God knew Judas to be an hypocrite &c. Indeed, as God, he knew it, but it is questionable whether he communicated this knowledge to his humanity, and if so, yet he might not be pleased to take notice thereof at the instant of instituting the sacrament. Because therein Christ would do nothing but what should be precedential to posterity to imitate: as intending that mere men should afterwards follow him in the ministry." * The second false principle upon which they proceed, is, that this sacrament is intended, or, at least, may be a means of conversion. To this

* This latter solution appears not less probable than ingenious.

he very forcibly replies, that those who come "not qualified for *communicants*, cannot expect converting from the *sacrament*, because they break the word of God in appearing there."*

He next proceeds to comment upon the overstrictness of many of the Presbyterian party in respect of admission to the holy communion, which they denied to all that would not submit to a re-examination previously to each celebration. And here he thus ingenuously declares his mind with respect to the then ecclesiastical state of this kingdom, being in moderation and love of peace, the Baxter of the Episcopalians, but happily without the infirmities of that most upright and laborious of the Nonconformists.

"Not to dissemble in the sight of God and man, I do ingenuously protest, that I affect the *Episcopal government* (as it was constituted in itself, abating some corruptions which time hath contracted) best of any other, as conceiving it most consonant to the word of God, and practice of the primitive church. But, seeing it hath pleased God to set by Episcopacy for the present, (whether or no *animo resumendi* † to him alone is known) far be it from me to close with such, whom I confess I love the worst: ‡ those practisers of so

* P. 33. † *With the intention of restoring it.*

‡ In allusion to the anecdote with which this protest is introduced. "Here let none think, that out of the spirit of frowardness, I wilfully oppose their opinions, or that out of anger or discontent I may favour some modern licentious extravagancies. I remember a story of the Lady Catharine

much liberty in the church, that it tendeth directly to confusion, and whose disorderly order deserves not the name of any discipline.

"But I know that religion and learning hath flourished under the Presbyterian government in France, Germany, the Low Countries. I know many worthy champions of the Truth, bred and brought up under the same. I know the most learned and moderate English divines (though Episcopal in their callings and judgments,) have allowed the *Reformed churches* under the *Discipline*, for sound and perfect in all essentials necessary to salvation. If therefore denied my first desire, to live under that church-government I best affected, I will contentedly conform to the Presbyterian government, and endeavour to deport myself quietly and comfortably under the same." *

Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, which may be applied to my occasions. When every lady at an entertainment was to choose whom she loved best, and so place themselves; the Duchess, because not allowed to choose her own husband, (as against the laws of the feast,) took Stephen Gardiner by the hand, whom she perfectly hated, with these words: 'If I may not sit down with him whom I love best, I have chosen him whom I love worst.' "—*Fox, Acts and Mon.* p. 2079.

* Pp. 34-36. Fuller, in his *Worthies, (Cheshire*, p. 200, *Ed. Nichols,)* making mention of Bishop Downham's celebrated sermon upon Episcopacy, remarks, "He preached the sermon, April 17, 1608, at the consecration of James Mountagne, Bishop of Bath and Wells, irrefragably proving therein Episcopacy *jure divino*." Yet in that sermon this prelate did not, any more than Hooker, affirm Episcopacy to be essential to the nature of a true church, nor did he unchurch other communions.

He then resumes his animadversions upon the over-strictness of many amongst the then dominant party, affirming that it hath made this sacrament to be long disused in some churches, nay, in some parishes for the space of ten years.* Another mischief which he imputes to this abuse, is, its tending to withdraw men's affections from Protestantism altogether: "thereby our adversaries of the Romish church have gotten a great advantage. This is a true maxim: *A lean Communion maketh a fat Mass;* and many are fallen off to Papistry on this occasion."† He opposes also to this indiscretion the custom of the other Presbyterian churches, and appeals to the French and Dutch congregations in London, as examples of their respective originals abroad.‡ The pious and learned biographer of Archbishop Williams, says "Was there ever such a negligence among Christians before? Sometimes the Pope hath interdicted the churches of a nation for a year or more; the greater was his sin: but I will make affidavit that some parishes among us have been interdicted from the Lord's Supper by the hirelings that teach them, from 1642 to 1649; and this famine of the holy bread is like to continue among them."§ See also *Walton's Life of Bishop Sanderson.*

This was not the only abuse. "In these licentious times," remarks Fuller in his *Mixt Meditations,*‖ "wherein religion lay in a swoon, and many

* P. 37. † P. 40. ‡ P. 45.

§ *Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams,* pt. ii. p. 107.

‖ P. 275. *Ed. Pickering,* 1830.

pretended ministers (minions of the times) committed or omitted in divine service what they pleased; some, not only in Wales, but in England, and in London itself, on the Lord's day, (sometimes with, sometimes without a psalm) presently popped up into the pulpit, before any portion of scripture, either in the Old or New Testament, was read to the people.

"Hereupon one in jest-earnest said, that formerly they put down *Bishops* and *Deans*, and now they had put down *Chapters* too."

The second controversy, *Whether any persons unordained may lawfully preach*, he answers by a passage then commonly adduced as on their side, by the favourers of lay-preaching—*Acts* xiii. 15. *And after the reading of the law and the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue sent unto them saying, Ye men and brethren, if ye have any word of exhortation for the people, say on.* In treating of this passage, he enters upon the institution and origin of synagogues. He notices the mention of them in *Ps.* cxxiv. 8, and concludes that they "may be said to be by *divine right once removed*,* namely, collected from the scriptures by necessary consequence."

Barnabas was not without an ordinary call to preach; being a *Levite*,† it belonged to his profession to teach the people. He had moreover an extraordinary call from God;‡ besides at this time a *civil invitation* from the *masters of the synagogue*.

* *Jure divino secundario*, p. 62. † *Acts* xiv. 36. ‡ xiii. 2.

Paul was a pharisee, the son of a pharisee, of whom it is said that they sit in Moses' chair. And again, synagogues were of double use, and served for an academy as well as a congregation.

In the practical application of this subject, after observing the antiquity of the custom of publicly reading the Word of God in the church, he adds, "And here let us endeavour to raise the just reputation of the word publicly read. Some conceive that the *Word preached* is as much holier than the *Word read*, as the *pulpit* is higher than the *desk*. Yea, such will say, myself, or son, or servant can read a chapter as well at home, as any the most accomplished minister in England. But let such know, that he which doth not honour all, doth not honour any of God's ordinances; and it is just with God, that preaching of the Word should prove ineffectual to such as slight and neglect the reading thereof."*

In the following, Fuller appears of the same mind with primitive George Herbert. "It is lawful for ministers to make use of the help of others, not only in their sickness and necessary absence, but also when their own persons are present: first, because we must as well *mend our nets*, as always *catch fishes;* as well study for new supply as always *preach*. And seeing nature hath given us as well two ears as a tongue, we must as attentively listen to the parts and pains of others, as contentedly utter our own meditations. Secondly, such variety

* P. 71.

will not only be pleasant, but profitable to our people. *In the mouth of two or three witnesses let every truth be established.* When the people shall hear the same matter in a different manner, one truth (salvation by God's mercies alone, and Christ's merits) dressed in several motives and methods, and expressions. *The nails will be driven the faster by many masters of the assembly;* and though it be faulty for itching ears to heap up teachers to themselves, yet sometimes such exchange of preachers increases the edification of an auditory." *

If, in those days of change and pretended reformation, many unworthy ministers were expelled their churches, (that many of the most deserving suffered also there can be no doubt,) it is to be feared that in numerous parishes religion was little advanced by the exchange. They were superseded often by illiterate persons, every way contemptible, and who, therefore, could not fail to bring a disgrace upon public worship itself, according as affairs then stood. "How many," remarks Fuller, "now-a-days, in despite of the rulers of the synagogues, the undoubted patron, the lawful incumbent, the guardians of the church publicly chosen, storm the pulpit by their mere violence, without any other call or commission thereto."†

"None may ordinarily execute the office of preacher, except lawfully called thereunto." Nothing but absolute and literal necessity may dispense

* P. 71. † P. 72.

with this rule; not a pretended necessity, only visible to the parties who allege it. A lawful calling is partly internal, partly external. The internal consists in having a desire (free from any sinister motives,) and delight to undertake the ministry; and also, in having some competent ability to discharge that office. Here, in addition to the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, Fuller recommends also some skill in logic; and this point he omits no occasion to urge upon his readers. He adds to these qualifications, that of inward holiness. The external call consists, first, in the approbation of such in the church, as have power and place to examine them. "But all these will not do the deed to make a lawful minister; still one thing, and but one thing, is wanting, and that is, ordination; *Acts* xiv. 23. *Titus* i. 5. the solemnity whereof, with the ceremony used thereat, are set forth in scripture."*

Fuller instances in the case of Uzzah and of Uzziah; but our modern meddlers and intruders would doubtless reply, that the Old Testament is never to interfere with the prejudices of Christians. We are not under a theocracy, we have nothing to do with Moses, say our Christian legislators, and our Christian lay-clergy; the one to justify the doctrine that whatsoever a nation does, as a nation, for the poor, it is corban, a work of humane superero-

* P. 84. "The troublesome times affording more *preachers* than *professors*." *Worthies of England*, vol. i. p. 144. *ed. Nichols.*

gation; the other to make way for the doctrine that all Christians are equally at liberty to preach and to teach. Infinite, indeed, are the abuses which have filled the Christian world from the depreciating of the Old Testament, and from mistaken notions respecting those uses of it which are not temporary, and those parts of it which are common alike to both dispensations.

From the Old Testament our author proceeds to the "solemn calling and commission of Christ's apostles in the New: *Mark* iii. 13. *And he goeth up into a mountain and calleth unto him whom he would, and they came unto him.*—It was not *who would come,* but *whom he called.* Christ invites all to salvation. *Come unto me all ye that are heavy laden:* only some to the ministerial function."

He then notices the standing allegation of this motley troop of pulpiteers, and of those, their mistaken adherents who are rather busy than skilful in the scriptures, "*Would God that all the Lord's people were prophets.*" * "It followeth not that those things either are, or should be, which every good man in holy zeal doth desire. I will not instance in the wish of Daniel, *O King live for ever,* lest any say that was but a *court-compliment.* St. Paul saith, *Rom.* x. *Brethren, my heart's desire for Israel is, that they may be saved.* Israel indefinitely, that is, Israel universally, though it neither could nor would be so, as contrary to the

* *Numb.* xi. 27.

will and pleasure of God in that particular: thus the expressions of Moses were the commendable extravagancy of his pious affection, but not the exact standard, by adæquation, whereunto the lawfulness of all men's prophesying should be proportioned." *

Knowing the contempt of primitive antiquity common to those whom he was endeavouring to convince, our author declines that topic, and presses them with St. Paul's authority, *Rom.* x. 15: *How shall they preach except they be sent?* "How shall they preach, that is, profitably to others, comfortably to themselves, with an assurance of divine direction, protection, benediction? It is said in the foregoing words, *How shall they hear without a preacher?* to show that it is equally impossible for men *to hear without a preacher to preach lawfully* without *sending*. Let such who pretend to preach without a *call*, try, if they can *hear without a preacher*."

"Secondly.—2 *Cor.* xii. 17. *If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing?* Prophets we know, are termed *seers:* 1 *Sam.* ix. 9. Now where all the body is sight, that may truly be termed not a body mystical, but monstrous." †

Is not the following as applicable now as when it was first written? "But let us survey what gifts those are, which generally are most boasted of by *opposers* in this point. God is my witness, I speak it without bitterness, or any satirical reflec-

* Pp. 87, 88. † P. 90.

tion. Are they not for the most part such as may be reduced to boldness, confidence, memory, and volubility of tongue?" *

He divides the self-constituted ministry into two classes; first, those who hold another calling with preaching; secondly, those who forsake their former calling. To the former of these he commends the apostolic rule, *It is not reason that we should leave the word of God and serve tables. Acts* vi. 2. "The apostles would not be pluralists in professions, nor retain two callings at the same time, and yet serving of tables in that sense, (that is, overseeing of the poor) was more compatible with preaching than any other employment, as being in its own nature of a *charitable constitution*, and an office afterwards used in the church as an entrance of probationers into the ministry.

"Secondly, the apostles' refusal to be double-called, at once proceeded from one, or both of these reasons: either because they accounted it too heavy a task for one person, though they were most miraculously accomplished, in which respect the ability and activity of their parts might have as much ubiquitariness, as mortal man can pretend to, to be present at once in distant employments. Or else, their recusancy was caused from an apprehension that it was disgraceful *unequally to yoke* the preaching of *God's word* with any other vocation, and beneath the dignity thereof to couple it with a *serving of tables.*

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* P. 94.

"Thirdly, we see they were resolved, as to let go the meaner, so to retain the most noble and necessary function of preaching, whence most glory redoundeth to God, and profit to his people.

"How then, can men now-a-days of meaner parts and endowments, discharge that which the apostles did decline? preach the Word and serve a ship, preach the Word and serve a shop, preach the Word and serve the looms, preach the Word and serve the last? retaining either manual or military employment with the same."

He then observes of St. Paul (*Acts* xx. 34, and 1 *Cor.* iv. 12,) "that *extraordinary accidents* are not to be drawn into *ordinary practice.* The apostle did not this constantly and commonly, but for a short time, at a very pinch, out of a holy design, namely, to starve the *false prophets* amongst the *Corinthians;* and, therefore, this, his act, ought not to be precedential to others, who are to apply themselves totally to the ministry,"*

It was a part of the odious fanaticism of the age, to condemn the use of the Lord's Prayer. Fuller, therefore, undertakes the defence of this most Christian practice, and exposes the futility of the various cavils with which it was assailed. He first treats of prayer generally. "One asked a philosopher, what was the best time for a man to eat in, to whom he ingeniously replied, 'A rich man may eat when he please, a poor man when he can.' His witty answer may afford us this grave application. Be

* P. 99.

thou poor, or be thou rich, pray both when thou wilt and when thou canst, as often as thou hast either necessity or conveniency: I will not stint thee to canonical hours, but embrace all opportunities that are rendered unto thee, to express thy service to God in thy prayers."*

"In scripture language, that is said to be done continually, which is done every morning and every night, *Now this is that which thou shalt offer upon the altar, two lambs of the first year, day by day continually*, *Exod* xxix. 38, and this was constantly called *Juge-sacrificium*, or the *continual sacrifice*, *Numb.* xxviii. 3, *Ezra* iii. 5. In proportion whereunto, whosoever constantly prayeth morning and evening, though following his calling, and attending his own occasions all intermediate time, may be said according to the apostle's precept, to *pray continually* or *without ceasing*."

With respect to the Lord's prayer, Fuller conceived† that the prayers in *Matth.* vi. and *Luke* xi. are not one and the same, but varied, the one, in the sermon on the mount, the other, on another occasion, but both the same in all essentials, which may teach us, that a prayer is not the better for being newly composed. The men of his age would not have been satisfied without something more unlike the first prayer as set down in St. Matthew, a *longer* prayer, and one more particular. Fuller adduces, *Matth.* xxvi. 44, and *Numb.* vi. 23, the use of hymns, which are nothing more than forms

* P. 113. † P. 119.

of prayer, or thanksgiving. He admirably urges the universal adaptation of the Lord's prayer, simple for both childhood and old age, and comprising and including all our wants.

Our author observes, that perchance, the true cause of men's prejudice is to be found in the prayer itself: "Are they not out of charity with the Lord's prayer, because there is so much charity in the Lord's prayer."*

In the course of this same year (1654) Fuller edited the *Ephemeris Parliamentaria,* being "a faithful Register of the transactions in Parliament, in the third and fourth years of the reign of our late Sovereign Lord, King Charles: containing the several speeches, cases, and arguments of Law, transacted between his Majesty and both Houses: together with the Grand Mysteries of the Kingdom then in agitation."†

About this year also, Fuller married his second wife, a sister of Thomas Roper, Viscount Baltinglass, and grandchild to Bishop Pilkington's eldest daughter. The fruit of this marriage appears to have been one son, called after his father, *Thomas;* perhaps Thomas Fuller, M.D. of Sevenoaks, Kent.‖ Fuller had dedicated his *Triple Reconciler* to the Lady Anne, Viscountess Baltinglass, daughter of

* P. 142. † In folio, pp. 271.

‖ The conjecture given above, that Dr. Fuller of Sevenoaks (concerning whom see *Chalmers' Biographical Dictionary*) was Dr. Thomas Fuller's second son, has since been disproved by the genealogy of the family of *Fuller* of *Rose Hill, Sussex,* in *Burke's Dictionary of the Landed Gentry,* 1844.

Sir Peter Temple, (the second baronet of that name,) and of Christian, sister and co-heir of Sir Richard Leveson, of Trentham, Staffordshire, K.B. and daughter of Sir John Leveson, knt.‡

Bishop Pilkington's eldest daughter was the wife of Sir Henry Harrington. Thus, Fuller, in his *Answer to Heylin*, (Part II. p. 70). "The animadvertor may allow me, knowing in his" (Bishop Pilkington's) "family, my wife being grandchild to his eldest daughter, married to Sir Henry Harrington." He inserts in the margin, "So is his (Sir H. H.) name in my corrected books." Sir Henry was, if I mistake not, second son to Sir James Harrington of Exton, knt. and brother to John, first Lord Harrington of Exton, which nobleman, had under his care, the Lady Elizabeth, (daughter of James the First,) to the time of her marriage with Frederic, Count Palatine of the Rhine.

The valour of the first Viscount Baltinglass, who married Anne, daughter of Sir Henry Harrington, Fuller memorializes in his *Worthies of England*.*

In his *History of Abbies*, (in the *Church History*) he makes mention of "that skilful antiquary, and my respected kinsman, Samuel Roper of Lincoln's Inn."†

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‡ This lady (Christian) was buried at Stow, Bucks, January 23, 1619. *Lodge's Peerage*, vol. v. p. 230, *London* 1789.

* Vol. ii. pp. 73, 74. *Ed. Nichols.* † P. 358.

CHAPTER XI.

Fuller's Church History of Britain.

WE come now to that work by which Fuller is best known, and for which as an original compilation, posterity is especially indebted to his indefatigable industry, his *Church History of Britain.* He entitled it "The Church History of Britain, from the birth of Jesus Christ until the year 1648, Endeavoured by Thomas Fuller;" a modest title, and no mock-modesty in the author, who was fully aware of the imperfections of his own work.*

Fuller, in his dedication of this work to Esme Stuart, the son and heir of James, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, records, that his noble father (Fuller's constant friend) was pleased to give him a text some weeks before his death: "Thou art not far from the kingdom of heaven," (*Mark* xii. 34,)

* In the same year also (1655), Fuller published his sermon entitled, "*Life out of Death*, preached at Chelsea, on the recovery of Sir John (father of Miss Anne) Danvers."

"that is, as the words there import, the state of salvation. But," he adds, "before my sermon could be, his life was finished, and he in the real acceptation thereof, possessed of heaven and happiness." This most estimable and illustrious person, died March 30, 1655. He was the eldest son of Esme Stuart, Duke of Lenox, (first cousin, once removed, to James I.) by Catharine, daughter and sole heir of Sir Henry Darcy of Bainham, Yorkshire, and was born March 6, 1612. His father died in the prime of life, leaving him an orphan, but twelve years of age. King James took the family, consisting of the Duke, his six brothers and four sisters, under his care. A very early friendship arose between James and the Prince Charles, which seems never to have abated. He was early called to the Privy Council, and, upon the recommendation of Charles, married the daughter of Villiers, with a portion of £20,000 with her. He was made Lord Steward of the Royal Household, Warden of the Cinque Ports, and K.G. The Parliament, for no crime but his loyalty, took from him the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports. The King, on May 8, 1641, made him Duke of Richmond. He accompanied him to Scotland, and, on his return, was one of the eleven, proscribed by the Parliament in their instructions to the Earl of Essex. In 1644, he was placed at the head of the council, appointed by the king, for the guardianship of the Prince of Wales. He was, in 1645, a Commissioner at the treaty of Uxbridge. He continued with the King, until the latter, without even informing him of his

intentions, left Oxford, and gave himself up to the Scots, April, 1646. From that time, the King did not see him until he was confined in Carisbrooke Castle. He performed the last solemn offices of friendship to the body of his royal patron at Windsor. Up to the time of the Civil Wars, he does not appear to have taken any prominent political part. He is recorded to have possessed the better qualities of Charles without his defects. His regard for Fuller, and the latter's attestation of his piety, are no small addition to the honours that have perpetuated his name.

The *Church History* is divided into eleven books, of which the three first (down to A.D. 1370) were for the most part, written in the reign of Charles. From the *epistle to the reader*, our author may be concluded to have prepared this History in his chamber in Sion College. In his *Appeal of Injured Innocence,* being his reply to the bitter, intemperate, and (for the most part) groundless accusations of Heylyn, he gives us this brief notice of the sources whence he compiled these pages.

"1. All passages of Church-concernment from the reign of Henry the Third until King Henry the Sixth, I got exactly written and attested, out of the Records of the Tower.

"2. The most material transactions in all convocations since the Reformation, till the time of Queen Elizabeth (save that sometimes the journals be very defective, which was no fault of mine,) I transcribed out of the Registers of Canterbury.

"3. I have by much labour procured many letters and other rarities (which formerly never did see the light) out of the library of Sir Thomas Cotton, and others.

"4. The learned Mr. Selden (*on his own desire*) honoured my first four centuries with reading, and returned them unto me some weeks after, without any considerable alterations.

"5. The best antiquaries of England (amongst whom the Archbishop of Armagh, it being not then my happiness to be known to the *learned* and *religious* Sir R. Twysden) I consulted with; these now I forbear to name, lest I remove and derive the *Animadvertor's* anger on them from myself, who am (though not the most able) the best prepared to endure his displeasure.

"Give me leave to add, that a greater volume of general church-history might be made with less time, pains, and cost; for in the making thereof I had straw provided me to burn my brick; I mean, could find what I needed, in printed books. Whereas, in this British Church-History, I must, (as well as I could) provide my own straw, and my pains have been scattered all over the land, by riding, writing, going, sending, chiding, begging, praying, and sometimes paying too, to procure manuscript materials."

In his account of the ancient religion of the British, Fuller follows Gildas in maintaining that it was a gross polytheism, and (in his 'Appeal') defends this opinion from Origen's fourth Homily on Ezekiel, where he asks, "For when did the country

of Britain, before the advent of Christ, join in the worship of one God?" *

Heylyn, who, like the revived *Via Media*, had no small veneration for his Romish brethren, and a certain hankering attachment to the Church of Rome, censures Fuller for "his raking into the channel of old *Popish legends*, writ in the darker times of superstition, but," says Heylyn, "written with an *honest zeal* and *good intention*, as well to raise the reader to the admiration of the person of whom they write, as to the emulation of his virtues: but being mixed with some *Monkish* dotages, the most learned and ingenious men in the Church of Rome have now laid them by; and it had been very well if our author had done so too, but that there must be something of entertainment for the gentle reader, and to inflame the reckoning which he pays not for."

Fuller replies, "I have not *raked* into the *kennel of old Popish legends*, who took the clearest water of this kind out of those rivers which run at this day in highest reputation with the Romanists. I never cited any legend but either out of Harpsfield, who wrote in the last generation, and was as ingenious as any of his persuasion; or else out of Jerome Porter, his *Flores sanctorum*, who wrote some *forty years*, and in high esteem with the Papists at this day, as appears by the dear price thereof.

"I confess I have instanced (taking *ten* perchance out of *ten thousand*) in the grossest of them, (that

* *Appeal of Injured Innocence.* Pt. 1. p. 54.

is the *fairest monster* which is most *deformed*,) partly to shew what a spirit of delusion acted in that age, partly to raise our gratitude to God, seeing such *lying vanities* are now ridiculous even to children.

"I believe not the *Animadvertor*, when saying, that the most learned and ingenious of Rome have laid them aside, seeing Cornelius à Lapide weaveth them in all along his comments,* and King James did justly complain that Bellarmine himself did mar his *pretty books of devotion* with such *legendary mixtures*."

Heylyn's palliation of legends savours *itself of a legendary spirit*. The truth is that none but the most ignorant or the most disingenuous would attempt to impose upon men the belief that the Romish Church is altered and improved in this respect. Witness *Dr. Wiseman's Lives of the Five Saints last canonized at Rome*. Witness the additions to the *Roman Breviary* in the last century; witness *Alban Butler's Lives of the Saints*, a work in high esteem with the Romanists of our day. So abundant are these fictions that the Romish religion may be called a *Religion of lies*. What indeed is a more evident forgery of superstition than *transubstantiation* itself? Heylyn must have known that the *lessons of the Breviary* must first have been exploded before any purification of legendary superstition could be truly pretended in behalf of the Romish Communion.

* See for instance his Commentary on *Isaiah*.

In his account of the seventh century, Fuller discusses the question of Augustine's (of Canterbury) being a party to the murder of the monks of Banchor. He follows Fox the martyrologist, and leaves the point undecided. Jewel in his *Defence of the Apology* is very copious in endeavouring to fix the crime upon Augustine.

The eleventh century prosecuted to the Norman Conquest, concludes with a brief sketch of the Anglo-Saxon Church; Fuller refers his reader for a more complete account to *Ussher's Religion professed by the ancient Irish and British.* Those who cannot look into the collections of Mr. Soames, may find a brief, but very comprehensive view of the Anglo-Saxon Church, in the first chapter of that most valuable work, *Professor Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation in England.*

Heylyn objected to the miscellaneous nature of this History; its comprising much civil history and many digressions more pleasant than profitable. The charge is not altogether unfounded, but greatly exaggerated. In the two first books, excepting some brief notices of the Danish incursions, and those not altogether out of place in a history of the Anglo-Saxon Church, there are but two digressions, the dispute respecting the origin of the University of Cambridge, and the account of the royal cures of the King's Evil. It may be justly conceded that some facts might have been omitted, as trenching upon that purity which should not be violated though but seemingly. Yet here Fuller had a good motive, which was to expose the immorality and legendary

faithlessness of the periods which he describes. He might perhaps have been more guarded and sparing in this respect.

That his work contains much entertainment is undeniable, but Fuller must have been un-Fullerized ere it could have been otherwise.

The *roll of Battle Abbey* is indeed at the end of the second book, a book of itself. But who would complain that such a supplement was annexed to the preceding history? a supplement in part original, and a subject not deemed unworthy of a place in the voluminous and truly national collections of venerable *John Fox* in his *Martyrology*.

We have at this time a party in the Church of England who, whilst professing to exalt above not a few of their brethren, the pure spirit of the Christian religion, patience, meekness, and obedience, are loud in their praises of the deposing and anathematizing pontiffs Gregory VII. and Innocent III. and of the merits of Thomas (with these clergymen of the Church of England, *saint* Thomas) à Becket. These divines have far outstripped their precursor Heylyn. It is remarkable that he passes over Fuller's censures of Becket without animadversion, though the most trifling defect in his pages could not escape notice.

In the commencing chapter of the fourteenth century, Dr. Fuller gives a brief notice of the great English school-divines, as also of the enormous exactions of the Popes in this age, not overlooking one of the most marvellous of the Jesuit Harding's very numerous falsehoods, that "the Pope's yearly

gains out of England were but as a gnat to an elephant." This is that Harding who is more graciously dealt with by the semi-Romish reviewer of the *British Critic* than the great Apologist of the English Reformation.*

Nothing can more clearly prove the impartial spirit of Fuller than his delineation of Wickliffe and his doctrines; nothing can more clearly evince the Romish tendencies of the school of Laud than Heylyn's uncandid reflections upon this part of the *Church-History*. "Being to write the History of Wickliffe, I intend," says Fuller, "neither to deny, dissemble, defend, or excuse any of his faults. 'We have this treasure,' saith the apostle, 'in earthen vessels;' and he that shall endeavour to prove a pitcher of clay to be a pot of gold, will take great pains to small purpose. Yea, should I be over-officious to retain myself to plead for Wickliffe's faults, that glorious saint would sooner chide than thank me, unwilling that in favour of him truth should suffer prejudice. He was a man, and so subject to error, living in a dark age, more obnoxious to stumble; vexed with opposition, which makes men reel into violence, and therefore it is unreasonable, that the constitution and temper of his positive opinions should be guessed by his *polemical heats*, when he was chafed in disputation. But besides all these, envy hath falsely fathered many foul aspersions upon him." †

* See *Art.* 1. *on Bp. Jewel, his character, &c. The British Critic, July* 1841.

† *Church-Hist.* B. iv. p. 129.

In the face of this, Heylyn scrupled not to describe our author's account of Wickliffe and his opinions thus: "The heterodoxies of Wickliffe canonized for gospel." *

Fuller had spoken of Wickliffe's success as the success of the gospel.

"The Romanists observe that several advantages concurred to the speedy propagation of Wickliffe's opinions; as namely, the decrepit age of Edward III. and infancy of Richard his successor, being but a child, as his grandfather was twice a child; so that the reins of authority were let loose. Secondly, the attractive nature of novelty drawing followers unto it. Thirdly, the enmity which John of Gaunt bare unto the clergy, which made him out of opposition to favour the doctrine and person of Wickliffe. Lastly, the envy which the Pope had contracted by his exactions, and collations of ecclesiastical benefices. We deny not these helps were instrumentally active in their several degrees, but must attribute the main to divine Providence blessing the *gospel*, and to the nature of truth itself, which, though for a time violently suppressed, will seasonably make its own free and clear passage into the world." †

Fuller defends himself by observing that it was "Christ's gospel preached by Wickliffe in a purer manner than in that age (thanks to God it was then so good) impurer than in our age, thanks to God it now is better." ‡

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* *See The Appeal, p.* 45.

† *Ch. Hist.* B. iv. p. 129.

‡ *Appeal*, Pt. II. p. 40.

It was, indeed, no small success which the Almighty then vouchsafed to his own Word, when he raised up a fearless assertor of the sufficiency of Holy Scripture without tradition; the human origin and antichristian character of the Papacy, the blasphemous nature of transubstantiation, and the vanity of the penances and satisfactions which had, in the church of Rome, corrupted the doctrine of repentance. Great was the success of the gospel when Wickliffe gave to his country his translation of the New Testament, of which it has been observed, that "at this day it might be read in our churches without the necessity of many even verbal alterations, and on comparing it with the authorized version of King James, it will be found that the latter was hammered on Wickliffe's anvil."*

The rest of Fuller's defence I reserve to another chapter, that as it forms a single subject, it may be viewed singly.

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* *Prof. Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation*, p. 95.

CHAPTER XV.

Fuller's Church History of Britain.

HEYLYN had also said, "If the doctrines of Wickliffe must be called the gospel, what shall become of the religion then established in the realm of England, and in most other parts of the western world?" To this Fuller answers, "Far be it from me to account the rest of England relapsed into atheism, or lapsed in Judaism, Turcism, &c. whom I behold as *erroneous Christians* in doctrine and practice, and yet still in such a condition, that though so living and dying, if they lead a good life, and being weak, ignorant, and seduced, seriously repented of all their *sins of ignorance*, they might be saved; closing fully with the moderate judgment of learned Hooker therein."

Fuller, here alludes to the *Sermon upon Justification*, by some attributed to Hooker, by others disputed. Such is the force of some passages herein, that the internal evidence appears to favour the more general belief, by which it is assigned to Hooker. There is, however, a defect in the *method*, the sub-

ject being treated (in a manner) twice over, within the limits of the same discourse. There is, moreover, a degree of warmth that savours, if not of a *personal*, yet of a *local* controversy; such, indeed, as is recorded to have taken place between Hooker and Travers.

Fuller thus sums up the controversy. "Hooker maintained, the church of Rome, though not a pure and perfect, yet is a true church, so that such who live and die therein, being weak, ignorant, and seduced, upon their repentance of all their sins of ignorance, may be saved.

"Travers defended; the church of Rome is no true church at all, so that such as live and die therein, holding justification in part by works, cannot be said by the Scriptures to be saved."*

To consider this most important subject in detail, a subject of increasing interest in our day, we may remark, that Hooker, in the discourse upon justification attributed to him, sets out with maintaining that "many are the partakers of the *error*, which are not of the *heresy* of the church of Rome,† yet that to all without exception plagues are due. The pit is ordinarily the end as well of the guided as of the guide in blindness." He, therefore, places this limit to the hope he expresses respecting our forefathers in those dark ages: "Our hope, therefore, of the fathers is, if they were not altogether faithless and impenitent, that they are saved." He proceeds with the affirmation of its being possible

* B. ix. p. 216. † *Of Justification*, p. 246, ed. 1662.

to hold great errors with the foundation; applying the comparison used by St. Paul in the *third chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians.* "This leads to the question, *what is the foundation?* The foundation is the mystery of godliness, God manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory;" 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. It is the confession of Nathaniel, "Thou art the Son of the living God, thou art the King of Israel;" *St. John*, i. 49: and of the inhabitants of Samaria, "This is Christ, the Saviour of the world;" *St. John*, iv. 42. But our fathers in the church of Rome, did not directly deny Christ crucified for the salvation of the world. If the Romanists denied the foundation by consequence, so do the Lutherans in their tenet of consubstantiation, who yet have been, according to Hooker, "the chiefest instruments of our salvation." "So then," he concludes, "Forasmuch, therefore, as it may be said of the Church of Rome, she hath yet a little strength, she doth not directly deny the foundation of Christianity, I may, I trust without offence, persuade myself that thousands of our fathers in former times, living and dying within her walls, have found mercy at the hands of God."*

Now comes that to which Fuller alluded, as the moderate judgment of learned Hooker. "What, although they repented not of their errors, God forbid that I should open my mouth to gainsay that

* P. 248.

which Christ himself hath spoken; 'except ye repent, ye shall all perish.' And if they did not repent they perished. But withal note, that we have the benefit of a double repentance: the least sin which we commit in deed, thought, or word, is death without repentance. Yet how many things do escape us in every of these, which we do not know! How many which we do not observe to be sins! And without the knowledge, without the observation of sin, there is no actual repentance. It cannot then be chosen, but that, for as many as hold the foundation, and have all holden sins and errors in hatred, the blessing of repentance for unknown sins and errors is obtained at the hands of God, through the gracious mediation of Jesus Christ, for such suitors as cry with the prophet David, *Purge me, O Lord, from my secret sins.*" Hooker then discusses the objection, that repentance without a rightly informed and clear faith is nothing: "If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing." *Gal.* v. 2. "Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace." v. 4. In answer, he remarks, "how many were there amongst our fathers, who, being seduced by the common error of that church, never knew the meaning of her heresies; so that, although all Popish heretics did perish, thousands of them which lived in Popish superstitions might be saved." In short, he admits that some there were, ignorant of the great errors of the church of Rome, respecting justification, and others there were, who held only that in a general

form of words, which would admit of a more favourable interpretation. Thus, when speaking of the *merit* of good works, they might intend to speak not *strictly*, but according to the ancient use of *meriting* for *obtaining*. Or again, he adds, "If in the worst construction that may be made, they had generally all embraced it living, might not many of them dying, utterly renounce it?"

And here I might take up our more immediate subject, having fully stated the mind both of Hooker and Fuller; but as Hooker has been appealed to in our own time, and some have made the most of his charity, who set little by his faith, and such would object, that all had not been set before the reader which Hooker himself thought worthy of the hearer, let us follow him to the end of his sermon, in which have already occurred some passages upon justification, not inferior to any thing in the writings of the fathers, for which the reader is remitted to the discourse itself.

Hooker resumes the subject under five heads: first, what is the foundation of faith? His answer is, "salvation purchased by the death of Christ:" secondly, what it is directly to deny the foundation? All infidels deny the foundation of faith directly; some Christian churches deny it indirectly, or by consequence. Thirdly, "Whether they whom God hath chosen to obtain the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, may, once effectually called, and through faith justified truly, afterwards fall so far as directly to deny the foundation, which their hearts have before embraced with joy and comfort in the Holy

Ghost; for such is the faith which indeed doth justify." This Hooker answers in the negative; for "if Christ the fountain of life, may flit and leave the habitation where once he dwelleth, what shall become of his promise, *I am with *you to the world's end?*" Accordingly, he affirms, that infidelity which is an inward direct denial of the foundation, can never be harboured by such as are once justified, and that the Galatians, who were seduced by false teachers, were yet owned by St. Paul as believers, and reasoned with as those who would have shuddered at a direct denial of the foundation. And here he confirms his own opinion by that of Bucer.

He now returns to the question, "Whether that the doctrine of the Church of Rome concerning the necessity of works unto salvation, be a direct denial of our faith."

"I seek not to obtrude upon you any private opinion of my own; the best learned in our profession are of this judgment, that all the corruptions of the Church of Rome do not prove her to deny the foundation directly; if they did, they should grant her simply to be no Christian church." "But, I suppose," saith one, (*Calvin, Ep.* 104,) "that in the papacy some church remaineth, a church crazed, or if you will, broken quite in pieces, forlorn, misshapen, yet some church." His reason is this, "Antichrist must sit in the temple of God." Shortly after this, Hooker concludes, "So antichristianity

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* Hooker thus applies this divine promise to individual Christians.

being the bane and plain overthrow of Christianity, may, nevertheless, argue the church where antichrist sitteth, to be Christian." This "nevertheless" is grounded on a foregoing comparison, that a man out of his mind is still a man.

But, if the Romish doctrine of justification is granted to be no direct denial of the foundation, does it follow that the Romish communion is a Christian church? Is there no other way of denying the foundation directly, but by raising up a false doctrine respecting justification? Do not the Scriptures make it of the foundation that God alone is to be worshipped? And does not the Romish Church affirm positively, that God alone is not to be worshipped? Is not Prayer an essential part of worship, and does not the Church of Rome affirm, that they are impious who deny the doctrine of the invocation of saints? Surely, a church which denies formally, that worship is due to God only, is somewhat more than crazed and misshapen.

But is there no other way by which a church can cease to be a church, but by denying either the doctrine of the Trinity, or of our Redemption by Christ? What then did the Church of England mean by defining the visible church of Christ to be, one "in which the sacraments are duly administered, according to Christ's ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same?" But is the cup in the Eucharist no essential part of it according to Christ's ordinance? If then, the Church of Rome, at the very best, has but half of one sacrament, how can it answer to the conditions of the

visible church of Christ? Again, if the church of Rome was a part of the visible church, however maimed, how could the clergy set up a church against a church? How, but on the principle of the Puritans, that a purer was to be preferred to a less pure communion, without waiting for a reformation proceeding from that communion?

Philip de Mornay is also quoted by Hooker, affirming, that the life of the church of Rome "holdeth by a thread;" then, saith Hooker, "yet still the life of the church holdeth." Now life is life, and if life, that is, salvation, is to be found in the church of Rome, as a church, why should any be called upon to leave it? I believe that the modern Lauds and Heylyns would echo "why?"

Next, Zanchius is adduced, acknowledging the church of Rome to be such a church as Israel under Jeroboam. And what kind of a church was that? Who sanctioned either its calves or their ministers, or in what sense were they a church of God, whom God might call *his*, because he had a right over them, but whose assemblies he never owned as a church; a position allowed, I believe, by the school now self-styled the *Via Media*, who reckon the Scotch kirk, to be in point of churchship, not superior to the church of Jeroboam. Hooker had, in truth, entangled himself in a dispute of words when he argued for the churchship of the Romanists; but, holding as he did, that a *wilful* and *consistent* Papist could not be saved, he did not much more in the way of concession than his antagonist Tra-

vers; whilst so far as he did go, if he had Calvin and Zanchius with him, he had not the church of England, which, in charging Rome with mutilation of the sacraments, denied her to be any part of the visible church of Christ. With respect to the inconsistency of Hooker, and those who follow him herein, I have nothing to do. But whatever Hooker was, he was not wiser than the framers of our own articles, nor is his authority to be preferred to that of the Church of England.

But why allow the validity of Romish baptism if their's is no church? Because the orders of the minister are not of the essence of the sacraments; a doctrine allowed in Hooker's days (as may be seen in Whitgift's Reply to Cartwright,) however disputed in our own.

With respect to orders, the church of England did not, in those days, deny or dispute the validity of Presbyterian ordination. Knox, if he had any, (a point not conceded by some who have carefully investigated the question,) was allowed freely to minister in this country, and was venerated in his function by Ridley himself. Travers was, after such an ordination, licensed to exercise his ministry in the Temple church, by the resolute and learned Aylmer, Bishop of London. True it is, that Travers' ordination was afterwards objected to him by Whitgift, but equally true it is, that this objection was, on the part of Whitgift, an innovation. Bishop Cosin himself, has attested, that in his time, the ordination of the French Protestant church was al-

lowed valid, and ordination never repeated when any from that church was incorporated into and preferred in our own.*

To return to Hooker. From endeavouring to prove that the Romish communion is a church, he proceeds with the subtle and *practically useless* distinction, that the Romish doctrine of Justification and of the merit of works, does indeed overthrow the foundation of faith, but doth not directly deny it.

In labouring this point, he affirms, that the adding of works is not like the adding of circumcision unto Christ. "Christ came not to abrogate and put away good works: he did to change circumcision, for we see that in place thereof he hath substituted holy baptism. To say ye cannot be saved by Christ, except ye be circumcised, is to add a thing excluded, a thing not only not necessary to be kept, but necessary not to be kept by them that will be saved." What then, did St. Paul maintain the utter unlawfulness of circumcision, of new moons, and sabbaths, or did the primitive church so judge, or did they not rather condemn those who used them as essentials, and forced them on others as such? But Hooker, moreover, here seems to forget himself, who would not have hesitated to call that an impious work, which was done with a view to the meriting by it an increase of grace, or remission of sins: so that in this case, good works themselves and cir-

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* *Dr. Basire's Funeral Sermon for Bishop Cosin. Appendix.*

cumcision are exactly parallel: that is,—if done as a ground of justification, they become equally unacceptable.

Then again, to little purpose does Hooker grant to the Romanists, that they make Christ and his merits the sole foundation of their own. Is it not a contradiction in terms? is it not a direct denial of the sufficiency of the merits of Christ? It is, indeed, an admission that his death is propitiatory, and that his obedience is meritorious, but it is a direct denial of the sufficiency of those merits, or, that he is the only meritorious advocate and intercessor; and he who denies that "besides God there is no Saviour," denies the foundation that God hath laid.

But *many virtuous and just men, many saints, many martyrs, many ancient Fathers of the Church, have hoped to make God some part of amends for their sins by the voluntary punishments which they laid upon themselves; and what shall become of these?* Such is the reasoning of the judicious Hooker! If a multitude of apparently holy men, only agree to this or the other doctrine, we must be the more charitable to it, be it what it may; yea, let it be injurious to Christ; that is not so much to be considered as whether it be injurious to the holy men that held it. What kind of notion is this? But did these holy Fathers think to make God amends by their voluntary penances? I hope and believe not; they fell into a system of bodily mortification, sometimes to excess, to testify their indignation against their sins, and take away the sources of temptation; but if their voluntary suffer-

ings were propitiatory, then both themselves and their works were profane.

Thus much of the opinions adduced by Hooker, respecting the claims of the Romish to be considered a Christian church.

If the Church of Rome be guilty of idolatry, then is it no more a Christian communion than Jerusalem could have been accounted a member of the Jewish Church, whilst in the commission of idolatry. The law was plain: *Thou shalt surely smite the inhabitants of that city with the edge of the sword, destroying it utterly. Deut.* xiii. 15. Before it can be shewn that idolatry is compatible with Christianity, it must be proved that idolatry is a less sin now than formerly.

Bishop Davenant, as able a controversial divine as the church of England ever produced, places amongst the fundamental points as well the *Decalogue* as the *Creed*, and, in respect of the Decalogue, remarks: "Viderit itaque Romana ecclesia, quæ fundamenta Fidei Christianæ suâ potissimùm operâ gloriatur fuisse hactenus conservata, an in fundamentalibus Decalogi non erraverit crassè et damnabiliter; ut de erroribus aliis nihil dicam."*

* *Ad Fraternam Communionem inter evangelicas Ecclesias restaurandam Adhortatio*, p. 98. *Cantabr.* 1640.

CHAPTER XVI.

Fuller's Church History of Britain.

HEYLYN was not less inveterate against the memory of Lord Cobham, than of Wickliff. "Yet coming out of Wickliff's schools, and the chief scholar, questionless, which was trained up in them, he must be registered for a martyr in Fox his calendar." Fuller replies, "As for Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, his case is so perplexed with contrary relations, much may be said against him, and little less in his behalf; and I have cause to believe indeed, that his innocence wanted not clearness, but clearing."* Thus, also, that impartial historian, Sir James Macintosh, who clearly proves, that it was not as a traitor that this pious nobleman was put to death; remarking also, that in that age, no man durst confute the accusations brought by the King and Parliament against him.†

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* *The Appeal of Injured Innocence,* Pt. II. p. 40.

† *Hist. of England,* vol. i. pp. 357, 358.

Fuller, under the reign of Edward IV. after recording the foundation of the Archbishopric of St. Andrews, (taken out of the see of York,) remarks, "Henceforward, no Archbishop of York meddled more with church matters in Scotland, and happy had it been if no Archbishop of Canterbury had since interested himself therein;"—an allusion to Laud, to whom Fuller did ample justice, but of whom he was no admirer. Heylyn taxed our author with "raking the Archbishop out of his grave, and arraigning him for many misdemeanors, of which none could accuse him when he was alive." It will not be deemed a false charge by any impartial person, that Laud's zeal to conform Scotland to England in ecclesiastical discipline and in worship, was no small aggravation of those heart-burnings, which at last broke out into rebellion. Heylyn's prejudices would not suffer him to adhere strictly to truth. Whilst Fuller did not hesitate to censure Laud in some things, he amply commended him in others; as, for his temperance in diet, purity in conversation, simplicity in apparel, patronage of learned men, and superiority to family considerations in the disposal of his preferments, hatred of covetousness, opposition to the corrupt practices of courtiers, strict observance of the Lord's day in his own person, moderation in pressing the Book of Sports in his own diocese, great learning, and as great zeal to recover the just possessions of the church, both in England and Ireland: added to this, his account of his death, when he was seen to be of so cheerful a countenance, as one about rather

to gain a crown than to lose his head. "Thus I did write," says Fuller, "in his due praise, as much as I durst, and though less than his friends expected, more than I am thanked for."*

Heylyn objected to him his brevity in the eventful period of the Reformation. To this, he replied, that he had not proposed to repeat what had been published by others, and that, therefore, what Fox had performed so elaborately, he had touched upon more sparingly.

Here I cannot withhold from the reader, our church historian's brief and characteristic defence of the English Reformation.

"Three things are essential to justify the English Reformation from the scandal of schism, to shew that they had:

1. Just cause for which
2. True authority by which
3. Due moderation in what

} they receded from Rome.

"The first will plainly appear, if we consider the abominable errors, which, contrary to scripture and primitive practice were then crept into the Church of Rome: as, the denying the cup to the laity; worshipping of images; locking up the Scriptures in Latin; and performing prayers in an unknown tongue, with the monstrosity of Transubstantiation; inexcusable practices. Besides, the *Behemoth* of the Pope's infallibility, and the *Leviathan* of his universal jurisdiction, so exclaimed against by Gregory the Great, as a note of Antichrist.

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* *Appeal*, Pt. III. p. 67.

"Just cause of Reformation being thus proved, proceed we to the authority by which it is to be made. Here, we confess, the most regular way was by order from a free and general council, but here, alas, no hope thereof. General it could not be, the Greeks not being in a capacity of repairing thither; nor free, such the Papal usurpation. For, before men could try the truth, hand to hand, by dint of scripture, (the sword and buckler thereof, by God's appointment,) the Pope took off all his adversaries at distance, with (those guns of hellish invention) his infallibility and universal jurisdiction; so that no approaching his presence to oppose him, but with certainty of being precondemned.

"Now seeing the complaint of the conscientious in all ages, against the errors of the Romish church, met with no other entertainment than frowns and frets, and afterwards fire and faggot, it came seasonably into the minds of those who steered the English nation, to make use of that power which God had bestowed upon them. And seeing they were a national church under the civil command of one King, he, by the advice and consent of his clergy in convocation and great council in Parliament, resolved to reform the church under his inspection, from gross abuses crept into it, leaving it free to other churches either to follow his example, or continue in their former condition: and on these terms was the English Reformation advanced.

"But the Romanists object, that England being first converted to Christianity by the zeal and care of the Church of Rome, (when Pope Gregory the

Great sent Augustine over to preach here) cannot, not only without great ingratitude but flat undutifulness, depart from the church which first taught it true religion. It is answered, first, this argument reacheth not west of Severn into Wales, where the ancient Britons, by general confession, were converted before the time of Augustine. Secondly, this first favour received from Rome, puts not on England so strict and servile an obligation of perpetual continuance, that she may and must not serve God without asking her leave. It ties England only to a fair and grateful respect, which she always tendered, till the insolency of the Church of Rome made *us* unwilling to pay, and *her* unworthy to receive it.

"Thirdly, some strength may be allowed to this objection, if Rome could be proved the same in doctrine and discipline, when under the reign of King Henry the Eighth England divided itself from it, with Rome, when in the time of Gregory the Great it was converted by God's blessing on his endeavours. But since that time, the Church of Rome hath been much corrupted in opinions and practice; easy to prove, but that it is not the set work of our history.

"But again, the Papists object, that the most judicious Protestants do ingenuously confess, that the Church of Rome maintaineth all the *fundamentals* of religion: England, therefore, cannot be excused from schism for dividing from that church, which, by their own confession, still retaineth the true foundation of Christianity.

"It is answered; if some Protestants be so civil in their censures on Papists, it appears thereby, though they have left Rome, they have not lost their courtesy, nor their charity. But grant, (*which is disputable*) the errors of the Church of Rome not fundamental, they are circa-fundamental, grating on the very foundation. Besides, we are bound to avoid, not only what is deadly, but what is hurtful; not only what may destroy the *life*, but what may prejudice the *health* of our souls.

"But our adversaries persist to object, that our Reformation took its rise from King Henry's pride to pluck down a power which crossed his designs; from his covetousness to compass the revenues of abbies; and from his wantonness to exchange his old embracings for new ones. Well, therefore, may the English blush at the *babe*, when they behold its *parents*, and be ashamed of their Reformation, considering the vicious extraction thereof.

"Malice may load the memory of King Henry about his demerit: yet grant the charge true, that bad inclinations first moved him to the Reformation, yet he acted therein nothing but conformable to the law divine and human. It is usual with God's wisdom and goodness, to suffer vice to sound the first alarum to that fight, wherein virtue is to have the victory. Besides, King Henry's Reformation hath since been reformed by successive princes of England, who cannot justly be taxed with any vicious reflection therein.

"It remaineth that we take notice of the moderation of the Reformers, who, being acted not with

an opposition to all which the Papists practised, but with an affection to truth, disclaimed only the ulcers and sores, not what was sound of the Romish church; retaining still what was consonant to antiquity in the four first General Councils.

"Matters thus ordered, had the Romanists been pleased to join with us, there had been no complaining of schism, either in their streets or ours. But such their pride and peevishness, to persist obstinate, to this day incense many people (who listen more to the loudness than weigh the justness of complaints), accusing us of wilful separation; but, the premises well considered, England may say to Rome, *Pharez*,* the breach be upon thee, who (with Athaliah, crying *treason, treason*,† being herself the prime traitor) taxeth us with schism, when she is the only schismatic." ‡

Fuller represents Cranmer as guilty of cowardice and dissimulation in the trial of Lambert, affirming that he argued on that occasion "against his own private judgment." § It has been conceived on the other hand, that Cranmer was at this time of his earlier opinion upon the *Real Presence*. ‖

Our author, had he lived in these times, would have been numbered by our modern philosophers with the bigoted pseudo-philanthropists who are blind to their wisdom; wisdom, which being of the worldly kind, and looking upon all legislation as

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* *Gen.* xxxviii. 29.
† 2 *Kings* xi. 14.
‡ B. v. pp. 194, 195.
§ P. 229.
‖ *Blunt's Sketch of the Reformation*, p. 207.

the mere handmaid of covetousness, will rather that the innocent poor suffer wrongfully, than the undeserving poor escape due correction. In his *History of Abbies*, our more Christian philosopher observes, "Better it is two drones should be fed, than one bee famished. We see the heavens themselves, in dispensing their rain, often water many stinking bogs and noisome lakes, which moisture is not needed by them (yea, they are the worse for it), only because much good ground lies inseparably intermingled with them; so that, either the bad with the good must be watered, or the good with the bad must be parched away."

May we of the clergy, at least, never forget "the poor is a continual order in the church, by the words of our Saviour, 'The poor ye have always with you.'" *

Professor Blunt, in his "*Sketch of the Reformation*, notices the unfavourable complexion our author's antagonist, Heylyn, gives to King Edward's reign in general, and the "unfair, though self-contradictory terms, in which he speaks of his individual character." He observes, "Indeed so strangely is he at variance with himself on this subject, that he might almost be thought to have written for one set of readers, and revised for another." †

Fuller thus candidly concludes his account of the

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* P. 358. So, in his *Worthies*, he defends the building of Almshouses, attacked by the *Malthusians* of *his* day, "It is better," he says, "that *ten drones* be fed than *one bee* famished."

† Pp. 244, 245.

dissensions of the exiles in Queen Mary's reign: "Only let me add that this whole story of their discords, with the causes and the circumstances thereof, is taken out of the *Troubles of Frankfort*, a book composed in favour of the opposers of the *English discipline*; and when the *writer* is all for the *plaintiff* the discreet reader will not only be an *impartial judge*, but also somewhat of an *advocate* for the *defendant*."

Heylyn was either criminally careless, or still more criminally malevolent, when he charged upon our historian, this indirect animadversion upon the Homilies, that "if they did little good, they did little harm." These words were written, not of the Homilies,* but of the unlearned preachers for whose use those admirable volumes were composed; the whole passage is as follows. "They are penned in a plain style, accommodated to the capacities of the hearers, (being loth to say, of the readers) the ministers also being very simple in that age. Yet if they did little good, in this respect they did no harm, that they preached not strange doctrines to their people, as too many vent *new darknesses* in our days. For they had no power to *broach opinions*, who were only employed to deliver that *liquor* to them which they had received from the hands of others better skilled in religion than themselves."

"Well had it been," (adds Fuller,) for the peace and happiness of the church, if the *Animadvertor*

* B. viii. p. 35.

(and all of his party) had had as high an esteem as the *Author* hath, for the Homilies; if none of them had called them *homely Homilies* (as one did), and if they had conformed their practice to the second Homily of the second Book, and not appeared so forward in countenancing images of God and his saints in churches."* Fuller had spoken to the same effect in his Church-History, so that Heylyn must have been more ready to gratify his ill-will, than to do justice to the truth, when he thus placed his own faults to Fuller's account. "Some," says the latter in his Church-History, "behold these Homilies as not sufficiently legitimated by this Article," (Art. 35,) "to be (for their doctrine) the undoubted issue of the Church of England, alleging them composed by private men of unknown names, who may probably be presumed at the best, but the chaplains of the Archbishops under whom they were made. Hence it is that some have termed them *homely Homilies*, others a *popular discourse*,† on a doctrine useful for those times wherein they were set forth. I confess what is necessary in one age may be less needful in another, but what in one age is *godly and wholesome doctrine*, (characters of commendation given by the aforesaid *Article* to the Homilies,) cannot in another age be ungodly and unhealthful; as if our faith did follow fashions, and truth alter with the times, like Achitophel his counsel, though good in itself, yet

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* *Appeal*, Pt. II. p. 87.

† *Bishop Montague* in his *Appello Cæsarem*.

not at some seasons. (2 *Sam.* xvii.) But some are concerned to decry their credits as much contrary to their judgment, more to their practice; especially seeing the second homily in the second book stands with a sponge in one hand to wipe out all pictures, and a hammer in the other to beat down all images of God and saints erected in churches. And therefore, such use these homilies as an upper garment, girting them close unto, or casting them from them at pleasure, allowing and alleging them when consenting, denying and disclaiming them when opposite to their practice or opinions."

Thus Bishop Jebb, to blunt the edge of the eleventh Article, asserts that the Homily there referred to, is referred to not for any doctrinal purpose, but "as an instructive practical sermon."* We may ask, why were not other Homilies similarly referred to under those other Articles which treated of the same topics with them; for instance, of the scriptures, and of the sacraments?

So Mr. Newman, by way of making up, (peradventure) for his systematic attack upon the doctrine of Justification taught in the Homilies, sets before the readers in that most disingenuous of all modern treatises the Ninetieth *Tract for the Times*, such passages in the Homilies as are more congenial to his taste.

Fuller has been charged with favouring both the Puritans and Puritanism. To the Puritans he was indeed a fair historian, not passing over in silence

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* *Bishop Jebb's Practical Theology*, vol. ii. p. 291.

the more moderate of that party, amongst whom were not a few who were the ornaments of their generation, and as opposed to a formal separation from the Church of England, as those who tempted them to become separatists by their indiscreet zeal against them. But it has been said that Fuller passed over the merits of the Conformists, whilst he seemed to take a pleasure in holding up to view the piety of the Puritans. Let us see then his own portraits of the most zealous of the conforming clergy.

Alluding to the Nonconformists, he writes, "The death of *Matthew Parker*, Archbishop of Canterbury, added much to their increase. He was a *Parker* indeed, careful to keep the fences, and shut the gates of *discipline* against all such *night-stealers* as would invade the same. No wonder then, if the tongues and pens of many were whetted against him, whose complaints are beheld by discreet men like the exclamations of truantly scholars against their master's severity, correcting them for their faults. This Archbishop was an excellent antiquary (without any anticness) a great benefactor to Benet College, in Cambridge, on which he bestowed many manuscripts, so that that library (for a private one) was the *sun* of English antiquity in those days, though now no more than the moon, since that of Sir Robert Cotton's is risen up."* He then proceeds to answer Prynne's detractions from this prelate's memory.

* B. ix. p. 108.

Grindal, Fuller justly calls "a prelate most primitive in all his conversation."* He was indeed no courtier; he was a prelate of the primitive age, fearless of the most imperious of princes. Whitgift he hesitates not to characterize as "one of the worthiest men that ever the English Hierarchy did enjoy." † Him also he vindicates, and that copiously, from Prynne's invectives.

He does not go so far in his commendation of Bancroft; but not to withhold from him his due, relates how, notwithstanding his severity toward the Nonconformists, he thus fraternally healed the wounds of his own sword. "An honest and able minister privately protested unto him, that it was *against his conscience to conform*, being then ready to be deprived: *Which way*, saith the Archbishop, *will you live if put out of your benefice?* The other answered, *He had no way but to go a begging and to put himself on divine providence. Not that*, saith the Archbishop, *you shall not need to do, but come to me, and I will take order for your maintenance.* What impression this made on the minister's judgment," adds Fuller, "I am not able to report." ‡

Of Archbishop Sandys (no favourer of Puritanism) he thus speaks, "An excellent and painful preacher, and of a pious and godly life, which increased in his old age, so that by a great and good stride, whilst he had one foot in the grave, he had the other in heaven.§

* B. ix. p. 108. † B. x. p. 25. ‡ B. x. p. 57.
§ B. ix. p, 197.

Bishop Bilson—"A deep and profound scholar, excellently well read in the Fathers, principally shewed in his *Defence of Christ his Descent into Hell*." *

Fuller admits that he did not decline commending some of the Nonconformists, as Cartwright, Travers, Stone, Udal, Greenham, Hildersham and Dod, "all, (though dissenting from the church in ceremonies) eminent in their generations. I commend them not for their nonconformity, but other qualities of piety, painfulness, learning, patience," &c. †

Heylyn reflected upon our author, because he had inserted into his pages the sarcastic epigram of Andrew Melville on the chapel-ornaments, but Fuller had subjoined the following; "Mr. George Herbert, of Trinity College, in Cambridge, made a most ingenious retortion of this hexastich, which as yet all my industry cannot recover. Yet it much contenteth me, that I am certainly informed that the posthume remains (shavings of gold are carefully to be kept) of that not less pious, than witty writer, are shortly to be put forth into print." ‡

But nothing was too slanderous for the pen of Heylyn. He charged Fuller in the most direct manner with vindicating Martin-Marprelate and other libellous writings of the more violent Puritans.

Dr. Heylyn. "Our author proceeds, fol. 193. 'Wits will be working, and such as have a satirical vein cannot better vent it than in lashing of sin.'

* B. x. p. 71.
† *The Appeal*, Pt. I. p. 46.
‡ B. x. p. 70.

This spoken in defence of those scurrilous libels which Job Throgmorton, Penry, Fenner, and the rest of the Puritan rabble published in print against the Bishops, anno 1588, thereby to render them ridiculous both abroad and at home."

The whole passage is as follows: "Some precise men of that side thought these jeering pens well employed. For having formerly, as they say, tried all serious and sober means to reclaim the Bishops, which hitherto proved ineffectual, they thought it not amiss to try this new way, that whom they could not in earnest make odious, in sport they might render ridiculous. Wits will be working, and such as have a satirical vein, cannot better vent it than in lashing of sin. Besides, they wanted not a warrant (as they conceived) in Holy Writ; where it was no solæcism to the gravity of Eliah to mock Baal's priests out of their superstition; chiefly, this was conceived would drive on their design, strengthen their party by working on the people's affections, which were marvellously taken with the reading thereof.

"But the more discreet and devout sort of men, even of such as were no great friends to the hierarchy, upon solemn debate then resolved, (I speak on certain knowledge from the mouths of such whom I must believe) that for many foul falsehoods therein suggested, such books were altogether unbeseeming a pious spirit, to print, publish, or with pleasure peruse; which, supposed true both in matter and measure, charity would rather conceal than discover. The best of men being so conscious of

their own badness, that they are more careful to wash their own faces, than busy to throw dirt on others. Any man may be busy in a biting way, and those that have the dullest brains have commonly the sharpest teeth to that purpose."*

In the same groundless and disgraceful manner Heylyn charged our author with being an extremist in regard of the Sabbath.† Heylyn was indeed an extreme anti-sabbatarian, reckoning (in his Life of Laud) the strict observance of the Lord's Day as one of the leading causes of the distractions of the reign of Charles.

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* B. ix. p. 193. † *The Appeal*, Pt. II. p. 92.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Church-History of Britain.

WE come now to the reigns of James and Charles the First. In regard of that of James, Heylyn charged Fuller with uncharitableness toward the memory of Mark Antony de Dominis. Let the reader of that very remarkable person's history judge for himself whether the truth lay not here again on the side of our author? That prelate who asked for York, was it not likely, as Fuller saith, that he secretly promised himself Canterbury.*

Fuller had recorded the panic occasioned by the unhappy policy of King James, in endeavouring to ally the Prince with the Infanta of Spain; Heylyn's veneration for the Roman Communion would not pass over this indication of true Protestant feeling in silence. "Ten thousand persons of quality," replies Fuller, "are still alive, who can and will attest, that a panic fear for that match invaded the nation." †

* *Appeal*, Pt. II. p. 100. † *Ibid.*

Heylyn, in his *Life of Laud*, to instance the disloyalty of the Puritans, tells that on a birth in the royal family, they stood aloof from the rejoicings, saying that they looked toward the Bohemian branch, that branch which now flourishes, whilst divine providence has swept away the Stuarts from the throne of this kingdom. Thus the Puritans were true prophets; they knew that a family which had united itself to an idolatrous interest was not in the way of blessing; they knew better than their opponents the essential evils, the spiritual mystery of Romanism; I speak of the rightminded amongst them; of men, who, like Dr. Sibbes, were far better judges in such questions than Laud or than Jeremy Taylor.

In the reign of Charles, the first point of importance that gave rise to animadversion on the part of Heylyn was the moderation of Bishop Andrewes. "This," says Fuller, "was the constant practice of Dr. Andrewes, successively Bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester, who never urged any other ceremonies than those which he found there. Now whereas the *Animadvertor* saith, that *if this should be true, he is not able to commend it in him;* the matter is not much, seeing the actions of *Bishop Andrewes* are able to commend themselves." Heylyn suspected Fuller of passing here an indirect censure upon Laud. Fuller denies that this was his intention, but admits that he had another prelate in his eye, related to Bishop Andrewes. He probably designed Wren, whom Bishop Andrewes early patronized, and who certainly could lay no claim to any of his patron's moderation.

In March 1640, certain divines were appointed to prepare an account of such ecclesiastical and other topics relating to the church, as might be subjected to regulation with a view to the peace and good order of the church. "First," says our author, "they took the innovations of doctrine into consideration, and here some complained, that all the tenets of the Council of Trent had (by one or other) been preached and printed, abating only such points of state-popery against the King's supremacy made treason by the statute. Good works made co-causes with faith, by justification; private confession, by particular enumeration of sins, needful *necessitate medii* (i. e. as means indispensable) to salvation; that the oblation (or as others, the consumption) of the elements in the Lord's supper, holdeth the nature of a true sacrifice; prayers for the dead; lawfulness of monastic vows; the gross substance of Arminianism, and some dangerous points of Socinianism.

"Secondly, they inquired into præter-canonical conformity, and innovations in discipline: advancing candlesticks in parochial churches in the day-time, on the *altar so called:* making canopies over, with traverses of curtains (in imitation of the veil before the Holy of Holies) on each side, and before it, having a *credentia*, or side-table, as a *chapel of ease* to the *mother-altar* for divers uses in the Lord's supper: forbidding a direct prayer before sermon, and ministers to expound the catechism at large to their parishioners; carrying children (when baptized) to the altar, so called, and there offering them up to God, pretending for some of these in-

novations, the injunctions and advertisements of Queen Elizabeth, which are not in force, and appertaining to the printed liturgy in the second and third of Edward VI. which is reformed by Parliament."

These conferences came to nothing, for there was a party already sufficiently powerful to destroy the episcopal government and liturgical worship; a party that had no thought of reformation, but of revolution. Fuller was confessedly opposed to the above specified innovations in doctrine and ceremonies. He maintained that the party of Laud had contended for ceremonies enjoined by no canons, and would Heylyn have been satisfied with merely canonical ceremonies? Bishop Sparrow confesses that for the side-table there was no authority. Treating of the Rubric that stands before "The Order for Morning Prayer," "*And the Chancels shall remain as they have done in time past*," and enumerating the ancient appendices of the chancel, he writes: "These several places, and this furniture some principal and Cathedral chancels had; which I have named, *not that I think this Rubric does require them all in every Chancel*, but because I conceive the knowledge of them may serve to help us in the understanding of some ancient canons and ecclesiastical story." *

Fuller was of opinion that the warm disputes respecting the position of the communion-table

* *Rationale of the Book of Common Prayer*. p. 306, Oxford, 1830.

were not agreeable to the spirit of Christianity. Did the apostles force an uniformity in ceremonials upon all churches? Was there not a variety of usages in the primitive church? Would it not have been wiser, more peaceable, and more Christian-like in the English Augustine to have suffered the British without disputing their custom of keeping Easter? And if so, why should an exact uniformity in externals be deemed essential to Christian order and union? Thus Fuller touching upon the heats respecting the placing of the holy table, had observed in his Church History, "If moderate men had had the managing of these matters about the posture of the Lord's board (call it table or altar), the accommodation had been easy with a little condescension on both sides." In his *Appeal* he adds, "I said it, and say it again, and any who have honesty and learning, (the *Animadvertor* only excepted) will say so too; that those differences were easily capable of accommodations with a little condescension on both sides. It will not be long before the Animadvertor will tell us, that the controversies betwixt us and the Church of Rome (consisting most, as he saith, in *superstructures*) may be compromised: *and if* (to use his own words) *the petulancy of the Puritans on the one side, and the pragmaticalness of the Jesuits on the other side, were charmed awhile, moderate men might possibly have agreed upon equal terms.*"

"Now this seemeth a strange thing to me, that moderation may make Protestants agree with Papists in *matters doctrinal*, and cannot make Pro-

testants agree with Protestants in *matters ceremonial.* Being the same plaister, why hath it not equal virtue; especially the latter being the lesser wound? Can the difference of transubstantiation be taken up betwixt us and the Papists, and not the setting of the Communion-Table betwixt ourselves? Can a crack be closed in a jewel, and a rent not mended in the case? These things, I confess, transcend my apprehension."*

Heylyn thus speaks of Davenport, (lately imitated in *the* 90th *Tract for the Times.*) "It appears" (i. e. that all these in the church of Rome are not so stiffly wedded to their own opinions as our author [Fuller] makes them;) "secondly, by a tractate of Franciscus de Sanctâ Clarâ (as he calleth himself) in which he putteth such a gloss upon the nine-and-thirty articles of the Church of England, as rendereth them not inconsistent with the doctrines of the Church of Rome:" of this Fuller observes: "By that parenthesis [*as he calleth himself*] it is left suspicious, that his *true name* was otherwise. And he who would not use his own, but a false *name*, might, (for ought I know) put a false *gloss* upon our *Articles;* and, though he *putteth* such a sense upon them, it is questionable whether our Articles will accept thereof."†

Most true and memorable are these words of our author: "The Animadvertor discovers himself as little *statesman* as *divine*, in advising the Church

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* *The Appeal*, Pt. III. pp. 17, 18.

† *Appeal*, Pt. III. p. 65.

of England, by making foes of her friends, to make friends of her foes; by incurring the enmity of foreign Protestants, thereby to procure the amity of Papists."*

Much more I once purposed to add to these notices of the controversy between Heylyn and Fuller, and to other topics in connection with the Church History, but to notice all that might be commented upon in so wide a field, would distract by unavoidable diffuseness, and would not be equally acceptable to all readers, even of an ecclesiastical kind.

To the *Church History*, Fuller appended his *Histories* of his Parish of *Waltham*, and of the *University of Cambridge*. The latter is not without many imperfections. But a work of very considerable research is now in progress, having for its object, to do justice to this much neglected department of our national literature.†

All these were put forth by the liberality of Dr. Fuller's numerous acquaintance. Besides such as have been mentioned elsewhere, may be reckoned Douse Fuller, Esq. of Hampshire, probably akin to our author; Sir Simon Archer of Tamworth,‡ to whom he was indebted for a MS. Roll of Battle Abbey; Sir John Wyrley§ of Wyrley Hall, Stafford-

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* P. 66. † By *Mr. Cooper of Cambridge.*

‡ Sheriff of Warwickshire in the 2nd year of Charles I. He married Anne, one of the three daughters of John Ferrars of Tamworth, Esq.

§ Of Hampstead in 1659.

shire, (educated in the University of Oxford); Clement Throckmorton,* the elder, Esq. of Horsely, in Warwickshire; John Ferrars, Esq. of Tamworth;† Mr. Thomas James of Buntingford, Hertfordshire, (related to the family of Fitzjames of Leweston, Dorset); Sir Richard Shuckburgh of Shuckburgh, Warwickshire;‡ Clifford Clifton, Esq. (so called from Clifton, in Nottinghamshire, and of the same family with Sir Gervaise Clifton); Ralph Sadler of Standon, Esq.§ and Anne, his virtuous consort; the Lady Mary Fountain;‖ Tho. Trevor, jun. of Enfield, Middlesex, (created a baronet in 1641, and made a Knight of the Bath 1660;**) Thomas Docwra, Esq. of Bedfordshire; Charles Cheney, Esq. son of Sir Francis Cheney, Knt. and Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, about 1659;††

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* Of a family that suffered most severely for their adherence to Charles I.

† Son of Sir Humphrey Ferrars, Knt. He was born in 1629, was M. P. for Derbyshire 1660. He married Anne, daughter of Sir Dudley Carleton.

‡ M. P. for Warwickshire 1641. He served valiantly under his royal master King Charles, and afterward suffered greatly in his estate. He died June 13, 1656. His eldest son, Sir John, was created a baronet in June 1660.

§ Of his grandfather, who died in 1587, Fuller gives a brief memoir in his *Worthies*, under the county of *Middlesex*.

‖ Query of Melton, near Doncaster?

** He married Anne, daughter of Robert Jenner, Esq. of London, and secondly, Mary, daughter of Samuel Hortrey, Esq. of Kew, and died without issue 1676.

†† Fuller forgets not to commend the virtues of his lady, Jane, daughter to the truly noble William, Marquess of Newcastle.

Daniel Harvey, Esq. High Sheriff of Surrey, 1655; Elias Ashmole, the antiquary; Edward Lloyd, Esq. probably related to the Lloyds of Yale, in Denbighshire;* Thomas Shuckburgh, Esq. of Brydenbury, Warwickshire; John Carey of Stanstead, Hertfordshire, Esq.; Henry Puckering Newton, son and heir to Sir Henry P. Newton, Bart.; Roger Price, Esq. High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire; and the Lady Eleanor Roe, relict to the Hon. Sir Thomas Roe.

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* See *Burke's Extinct Baronetage.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

From 1656 *to the Restoration.*

WE may now conceive that Fuller after bringing to a close his principal work, had in his hands the materials for his "Worthies," a work upon which he appears to have set his heart, but which he was not permitted himself to publish.

The only fruit of his industry that appeared in 1656, was a little volume comprising three discourses, one preached upon November 5, 1653, and already noticed under that year; another, entitled *The Worst of Evils*, *Ephes.* ii. 3, upon sin, and chiefly of original sin; and a third, *Strange Justice*, an assize sermon from *Judges* xix. 30. In that entitled *The Worst of Evils*, he, in his own inimitable manner, exposes the futility of Bellarmine's defence of the Romish doctrine, that *Original Sin* is but the privation of Adam's righteousness, without the depravation of our nature. Bellarmine would have it supposed, that Adam was created with a reluctancy and rebellion of the inferior powers of the soul against the superior faculties thereof; nay,

that he could not, as a creature compounded of matter, have been made more perfect. "Thus they go about," says Fuller, "to make (as I may say) some corruption in Adam in his state of integrity, that they may make way for some integrity in the sons of Adam after their corruption."

He concludes in this manner, "Thus every day we sin, and sorrow after our sin, and sin after our sorrow, and do what we would not, and the wind of God's Spirit bloweth us one way, and the tide of our corruption hurrieth us another. Those things he that seeth not in himself is sottish-blind; he that seeth and confesseth not, is damnably proud; he that confesseth and bewaileth not, is desperately profane; he that bewaileth and fighteth not against is unprofitably pensive; but he that in some weak manner doth all these, is a saint in reversion, and shall be one in possession hereafter."

In the third of these discourses, he thus characteristically describes the so called *Via Media* of our age, and the *Heylyns* of his own: "How many be there which have learning too much to be Papists, and yet religion too little to be good Protestants. They are loth to say that Luther is in the right, and they are loth to say that Bellarmine is in the wrong."

These sermons were, in 1657, followed by four more, together with *notes upon Jonah*.* To these was prefixed an indifferent portrait of the author. The first of these discourses, entitled, "*The best*

* Dedicated to his friends at St. Bridget's (commonly) Bride's parish, in London.

employment," from *Acts* x. 38, "*Who went about doing good*," is a perfect specimen of the author's ingenuity. But it may be doubted whether there is not too great a variety of subjects for one discourse, a fault common to that age, of which the sermons abounded as much in ideas as those of our own age do in words. The second entitled, "*A gift for God alone*," is from *Prov.* xxiii. 26; "*My son give me thine heart.*" The third, on *St. Peter's Repentance*, entitled "*The True Penitent*," is amongst the best of his discourses. By this sermon, it appears, that vice and infidelity though heightened by the profligacy of the second Charles, antedated his Restoration. "Take heed; atheism knocks at the door of the hearts of all men, and where luxury is the porter, it will be let in. Let not the multiplicity of so many religions as are now on foot, make you careless to have any, but careful to have the best."

The sermon entitled "*The best Act of Oblivion*," *Ps.* xxv. 7, *Remember not Lord the sins of my youth*, is a plain and earnest discourse against the sins of youth, pride, prodigality, rashness, disobedience to parents, and impurity. Admirable is the remainder of this volume, which consists of *Notes upon Jonah*, extending, however, only to the end of the seventh verse of the first chapter.

He observes how oppression was the great and crying sin of Nineveh. *Nahum*, iii. 1. Fuller had experienced the evils of oppression, oppression which the stronger party always seek to justify beneath

the cloak of law. Some, indeed, would have the world deceived into the opinion, that law and equity are of necessity one and the same; a doctrine fit for infidels and atheists. Christianity, by infusing equity into the spirit of legislation, seeks to maintain law. The selfish theory, that would exalt wealth as the idol of legislation, tends directly to the dissolution of all government, and to destroy all affection for the laws, by making them solely subservient to the interests of the few.

In the course of this year, Fuller preached and published a Funeral Sermon, delivered at St. Clement Danes, at the funeral of Mr. George Heycock. Here he drew the character of David (his text being, *For David after he had served his own generation, after the will of God, fell asleep.*) After animadverting upon those who served not their generation, he observed: "But now that my sword may cut on both sides, as hitherto we have confuted such who are faulty in their defect, and will not serve their generation; so others offend in the excess, not being only servants, but slaves and vassals to the age they live in; prostituting their consciences to do any thing (how unjust soever) to be a favourite to the times. Surely a cautious concealment is lawful, and wary silence is commendable in *perilous times. Amos*, v. 13. *It is an evil time, therefore, the wise shall hold their peace.* And I confess that a prudential compliance in religion in things indifferent, is justifiable, as also in all civil concernments, wherein the conscience is not

violated: but wherein the will of the times crosseth the will of God, our indentures are cancelled from serving them, and God only is to be obeyed.

"There is some difference in reading the precept, *Rom.* xii. 11; occasioned from the similitude of the words in the original, (though utterly unlike in our English tongue,) some reading it, *Serving the Lord*, others, *Serving the time.* I will not dispute which in the Greek is the truer copy; but do observe, that David's precedent in my text, is a perfect expedient, to demonstrate that both lections may, and ought to be reconciled in our practice; *He served his generation;* there is *serving the time;* but what followeth? *by the will of God;* there is *serving the Lord.* This by him was, by us must be performed."

On July 8, Fuller's elder son John, being now sixteen years old, was, after five years spent at St. Paul's School, under Mr. John Langley, admitted at Sidney Sussex College, under Edmund Matthews, B. D. Here he took the degree of B. A. 1660, was admitted to a fellowship by royal mandate, January 21, 1663, and proceeded to the degree of A. M. in 1664.

In the following year, (1658) Fuller dated from his "chamber in Sion College," January 10, 1657-8, his preface to KAINA KAI ΠΑΛΑΙΑ; or *A Storehouse of Similes, Sentences, &c. by John Spencer, Librarian to Sion College.* Here, he observes, "Some men's books are indeed mere kites' nests, a collection of stolen things, such as are pure plagiaries, without any grateful acknow-

ledgment; but herein, the ingenuity of our author is commendable, that on the margin he hath entered the names of such, at whose torch he hath lighted his taper; and I am confident that by such quotations, he hath revived the memories of many worthies, and of their speeches, which otherwise had been utterly lost.

On March 3, our author was presented to the Rectory of Cranford, by his constant friend, George Baron of Berkeley, Mowbray, Seagrave, and Bruce, K. B.

Here Fuller prepared his "*Appeal of Injured Innocence*," or Reply to Heylyn's Animadversions on his Church History. This work he dedicated to his most bountiful and most exemplary patron, Lord Berkeley, from Cranford Moat House, March 21, 1659.* This house, which stood within a

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* In 1659 appeared, *Pulpit Sparks, or Choice Forms of Prayer, by several Reverend and Godly Divines, Used by them both before and after Sermon, with other Prayers, for extraordinary occasions, Together with Dr. Hewytt's last Prayer. London, Printed for W. Gilbertson, at the Bible in Giltspur street*, 1658. Amongst these is a *Prayer before Sermon*, by Fuller, and others by Mr. Hall, afterwards Bishop of Bristol; Jeremy Taylor, Bruno Ryves, successively Dean of Chichester and Windsor; a very excellent one by Mr. Goddard; others by Dr. Hardy, afterwards Dean of Rochester, Dr. Gillingham, Dr. Wild, the friend of Dr. Hewitt; Dr. Griffith, John Marston, B. D.; Mr. Richard Ball, Mr. Sparks, and Mr. Mackerness.

The Prayer of Dr. Fuller is marked with that love of antithesis which invariably characterizes his writings; and is simple, not diffuse, and full of holy reverence.

moated site, about a quarter of a mile north-east of the church, was pulled down in 1780. It was, in 1603, the residence of Sir William Fleetwood, Receiver of the Court of Wards.*

Fuller is also recorded to have been recalled to the church of St. Mary, Savoy, previously to the Restoration.

In 1659, if not also in 1657, appeared a sermon by him, entitled "*The best Name on earth*," together with some already noticed, (*The Worst of Evils*, *The Snare broken*, and *Strange Justice*,) preached at St. Bride's, and in other places. Printed for the use and benefit of William Byron, Gent. 1659. There is an engraved title-page to the edition of 1659, but itself dated 1657, and intended for *Antioch;* with these lines:—

"Behold this antient city, from whence came,
As from the sacred font, the Christian's name:

The only copy I have seen of this little book is in Trinity College Library, Cambridge.

Mr. Goddard was minister of St. Gregory's, near St. Paul's.

Toward the end is, *A Private Prayer after receiving the Lord's Supper, by Mr. Reading of Dovor.* See an account of him, and a catalogue of his numerous works in *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.*

* In the Manor House, still in the noble family of Berkeley, is a portrait of Dr. Fuller, from which was copied the engraving prefixed to his Worthies: and in the library are the *Worthies* and *Holy State*, the former very handsomely bound, and probably presented to George Lord Berkeley, by the author's son.

Heaven grant that our once famous London may
What Antioch gave, in time not take away.
Jo. Qu."

This sermon begins with observing, that "the Scripture gives four names to Christians, taken from the four cardinal graces so necessary to man's salvation: saints from their holiness; believers from their faith; the brethren from their love; the disciples from their knowledge."

He remarks: "Here we must not forget how the heathen made another deduction and etymology of the word *Christians;* for such Pagans in the primitive times, beholding the love and charity betwixt Christians, how they mutually relieved each other's wants; but especially, how they conversed together in the time of plagues and epidemical diseases, comforting one another, when heathen people started from the embraces of their nearest relations: I say, seeing this, they conceived they were called Christians, quasi *Chrestiani*, from χρηστὸς, the Greek word for *mild and meek*, as more merciful men, more pitiful and compassionate persons than any others.

"But alas, should heathens now look on the carriage and conversation of Christians, one towards another, how spiteful and cruel they are; how bearish, how boarish, how brutish we are in our mutual dissensions, they would conclude us not called from meekness, so ill we brook our names." Of the names, Protestants, Lutherans, &c. he says, "We never took these names unto ourselves, but they

were fixed and fastened on us by the spleen and envy of our Romish adversaries."

Having given the origin of the principal denominations, Lutherans, Calvinists, Protestants, Hugonots, he adds, "Here I will not descend to those petty names of private sects, which these last ten years have produced, nor will I honour them with any mention, chiefly, because as the youngest of discretion in this congregation may remember the beginning of such names, I hope the oldest may live to see the end of them; when such ridiculous and absurd names shall utterly be abolished."

On the 7th of December, died the celebrated Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, and latterly preacher of the Temple Church. Our author, in his *Worthies*, writes, "I observed at his funeral that the *prime persons* of all *persuasions* were present, whose judgments going several ways, met all in a general grief for his decease. He was buried on the cost of both Temples, to his great, but their greater honour. He had been chosen lecturer at the Temple church about a year before his death." *

About the very time of the Restoration, Fuller completed his "*Mixt Contemplations in Better Times*," dedicated to the truly honourable and most virtuous, the Lady Monck. It opens thus, "Madam, I had the happiness, some sixteen years since, to be minister of that parish wherein your ladyship had your nativity, and this, I humbly conceive,

* *Suffolk*, p. 62.

doth afford me some title to dedicate my weak endeavours to your honour." It is dated from Sion College, May 2, 1660. To this little volume was affixed as a motto, "Let your moderation be known unto all men; the Lord is at hand." The motto speaks the spirit of the author and of his meditations. He was always the same, and if now his loyalty leaped for joy, his moderation did not loose itself in any extravagancies. He was for a real and not verbal accommodation between the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties. He pleaded for a general toleration. He conceded all that he could with truth as well as charity, to the intentions of those who had been led away beyond themselves in the late confusions, whilst none could be more severe against those who ate the bread of others, and who lived only by faction. He commented upon the past by the light of God's Providence, and justified his ways who brings light out of our darkness, order out of our chaos.

His loyalty in the midst of its exultation, did not disown his former patriotism. "A commonwealth and a king are no more contrary than the trunk or body of a tree and the top branches thereof: there is a republic included in every monarchy."

Fanaticism and wilful separation he scrupled not to condemn most cordially, and to expose most effectually. "How sad is the condition of many sectaries in our age; which, in the same instant have a fog of ignorance in their judgments, and a tempest of violence in their affections; being too blind to go right, and yet too active to stand still."

Revisiting Broad Windsor, which now became rightfully his own once more, he is said to have been so satisfied with the preaching of the then incumbent, as to have spontaneously promised not to be the cause of his removal. This was probably soon after the Restoration, for in 1660, Fuller again visited Exeter, as we learn from his *Worthies*, where, treating of Exeter, he says, "As for the parish churches in this city, at my return thither this year I found them fewer than I left them at my departure thence, fifteen years ago. But the demolishers of them can give the clearest account, how the plucking down of churches conduceth to the setting up of religion. Besides, I understand that thirteen churches were exposed to sale by the *public crier*, and bought by well-affected persons, who preserved them from destruction." *

In this same year Dr. Fuller put forth his ingenious *Dialogues of the Birds and Flowers*, evidently allegorizing the events of his day.

On August the second, a royal mandate was issued from Whitehall, to confer the degree of D. D. upon Fuller, together with Edmund Porter, Richard Drake, Chancellor of Sarum, and translator of Bishop Andrewes' Devotions, Anthony Sparrow, afterward Bishop of Norwich, Robert Pery, Archdeacon of Middlesex; all B. D.; and upon Richard Watts, Rector of Morecote, Rutlandshire, William Belle, Prebendary of Canterbury, and John Breton;

* *Worthies*, vol. i. p. 303.

all M. A. This mandate took effect on the 5th of September.

Now also was Dr. Fuller appointed a Chaplain to the King, and restored to his stall in the Cathedral church of Sarum.

Dr. Fuller wrote a Poem on the Restoration, entitled "*A Panegyrick to His Majesty on his Happy Return, by Thomas Fuller, B.D.* London, Printed for John Playford, at his shop in the Temple, 1660.* This, I suppose, was that John Playford who put forth forty or more tunes, in part taken from the tunes printed in our Prayer-books from about 1560, but by him harmonized in a more modern and flowing, but less solemn style than that of Ravenscroft, and the composers who enriched his incomparable Psalmody of 1621.

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* Afterwards reprinted in the *Worthies of England*, under *Worcestershire*.

CHAPTER XIX.

Our Author's last Illness and Death.

HAVING in August, 1661, returned to London from Salisbury, probably after a journey thence to Netherbury, to settle a lease of his prebendal property there, he contracted a fever, of which he died. About the same time Dr. Matthew Nicolas, Dean of St. Paul's, died also on his return from Salisbury.* For, being desired to

* Dr. Matthew Nicolas, of a family seated at Winterbourn Earls, about three miles from Salisbury, and brother to Sir Edward Nicolas, Secretary of State to King Charles II. was, in 1639, made Dean of Bristol, and installed on the 22d of June, in the place of the disinterested and much beloved Dr. Edward Chetwynd, deceased; this Dr. Chetwynd married Helena, daughter of Sir John Harrington, of Kelston, Somersetshire, who died before him, in 1628. When King Charles in 1641, appointed the upright and exemplary Dr. Winniffe, Dean of St. Paul's, to the See of Lincoln, (together with other eminent persons to divers vacant Sees for their conspicuous merit, to save episcopacy, ready to fall through the impolicy and arrogance of Laud,) Dr. Nicolas (LL.D. of

preach a marriage-sermon on Sunday, the twelfth of August (at the chapel of St. Mary, Savoy), for a kinsman of his, who was to be wedded the day after, the good Doctor lovingly undertook it; but on that Sunday, whilst at dinner, felt himself very much indisposed, and complained of a dizziness in the head: whereupon his son entreated him that he would go and lie down on bed, and forbear preaching that afternoon, but he would not be persuaded, saying "he had gone up often into the pulpit sick, but always came well down again, and he hoped he should do as well now, through God's strengthening grace." Those who have laboured much under indigestion, so common to men of sedentary habits, will understand this speech of our author.

Being in the pulpit, he found himself very ill, so that he was apprehensive of danger; and therefore before his prayer, addressed himself thus to his congregation: "I find myself very ill, but I am re-

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New College, Oxford, in 1627,) was appointed to the Deanry of St. Paul's, but in those troublous times he could not be duly elected and confirmed therein. At the Restoration he had a new grant to this Deanry, and on July 10, 1660, was duly elected Dean, and installed on the same day; and on the 17th of August following, was collated to the Prebend of Cadington Major, in that church, in the place of Dr. Westfield, Bishop of Bristol, deceased. He was also Prebendary of Westminster, to which he had been preferred in 1642, on the death of Dr. William Robinson, brother by the mother's side to Archbishop Laud. He was, moreover, at the time of his death, Canon Residentiary of Sarum, and Rector of West Dean, in Wiltshire. He died August 14, 1661, and was buried at Winterbourn.

solved by the grace of God to preach this sermon to you here, though it be my last,"—a sad presage, and more sadly verified. He proceeded in his prayer and sermon very perfectly, till in the middle (never using himself to notes, other than the beginning word of each head or division), he began to falter, yet quickly recollecting himself, and very pertinently concluded. After he had a while sat down, he was not able to rise again, but was fain to be led down the pulpit stairs by two men into the reading-desk. He had promised also to baptize a child (of a very good friend of his) then in the church, but was unable to do it.

Much ado there was to persuade the Doctor to go home in a *sedan*, he saying still he should be well by and by, and would go along with them; but at last finding himself worse and worse, he yielded to go, but not to his old lodgings (which were convenient for him in the Savoy), but to his new one in Covent Garden: being come thither they had him to bed, and presently sent for Dr. Scarborough; but he being in the country, Dr. Charlton came, who judged the complaint to be a violent malignant fever, such as then raged everywhere, and was better known by the name of the new disease, which had, like a plague, swept away multitudes throughout the kingdom. Nothing could stop the progress of the malady, which soon affected the Doctor's mind. Yet in this sad and oppressed condition, he was able to give at times some comfortable signs and assurances.

On the following Wednesday it pleased God to

restore to him the use of his faculties, which he very devoutly and thankfully employed in a Christian preparation for death, earnestly imploring the prayers of some of his reverend brethren with him, himself most intently joining with them, and commending himself to the will of God. Nay, so highly was he affected with God's pleasure concerning him, that he could not endure any person to weep or cry, but would earnestly desire them to refrain; highly extolling and preferring his condition, as a translation to a blessed eternity. Nor would he revert to subjects of a literary or purely secular kind: nothing but heaven and the perfections thereof, the consummation of grace in glory, must fill up the room of his capacious soul, now ready to take its flight from this world. On the morning of Thursday, the sixteenth of August, his sufferings were at an end, and he entered into rest.

He was buried at the desire and at the costs of the Rt. Hon. his noble patron, the Lord Berkeley, in the chancel of his parish church of Cranford; two hundred of the clergy attending at his funeral. The sermon was preached by Dr. Nathanael Hardy, Dean of Rochester, and Rector of St. Martin's in the Fields.

This Dr. Hardy was the son of Anthony Hardy, and was born in the parish of St. Martin's, Ludgate, in the city of London, on the fourteenth of September, 1618; was a commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1632; removed thence to Hart Hall; which foundation, as old as the reign of Edward I. was afterward called Stapledon Hall, from

Walter de Stapleton, Bishop of Exeter, into whose hands it came in the succeeding reign: but when his scholars were transplanted to the present site of Exeter College, its original name was restored, and continued till it was merged in Hertford College, 1740; which corporation became extinct in 1805, part of the old buildings being now included in Magdalen Hall. He proceeded to the degree of M. A. in 1638, and in the following year was ordained priest. He preached for some years at the church of St. Dionis Back Church,* and was the author of numerous sermons, the titles of which may be seen in *Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses.* His principal works are two series of *Lectures on the first Epistle of St. John;* the first part published in quarto in 1656, the second in 1659. I cannot altogether excuse him from the charge of complying more than was lawful, with the times; in 1646 he condemned those ceremonies as Popish which in 1661 he affirmed to be primitive, and not superstitious. Let the reader compare his Fast sermon at Westminster Abbey, on February 24, 1646, with his Fast sermon for the 30th of January, 1661, at St. Margaret's Church. He was not without the defects of the preachers of that century, some of which as his *Accusatio vera, Comminatio severa,* are culled out by Dr. Echard in his "*Causes of the Contempt of the Clergy;*" a work in some respects deservedly, yet too severely and indiscriminatingly censured by the very pious and chari-

* From or before 1646 to 1660.

table Barnabas Oley, the friend of Herbert, and Vicar of Great Gransden, Huntingdonshire, long the residence of the truly pious and benevolent James Plumptre, whose name it would be ungrateful in the writer to omit in this place, under whom as his Vicar, it was his privilege to commence his public ministrations.*

As for Dr. Hardy, he was a person of some learning and eloquence, and on the Restoration was preferred to be Archdeacon of Lewes, Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, on Dec. 10, 1660, Dean of Rochester. He died at Croydon, June 1, 1670, and was buried at St. Martin's in the Fields; Dr. Patrick (afterward Bishop of Ely), preaching his funeral sermon.

To return to our more immediate subject, the anonymous author to whom we are indebted for the account of Dr. Fuller's last sickness and death, has summed up the main particulars of his manner of life with a simplicity and minuteness not to be looked for in more modern compositions, in which however, we are not to be envied, who carry our scrupulousness perhaps too far, and who are wont to be entertained with far less real portraits, whilst truth is not so much aimed at as effect, and blemishes are studiously concealed, and what would give

* He was the son of the Rev. Robt. Plumptre, D.D. President of Queen's College, Cambridge, 1760, to his death in 1788; B.A. of Clare Hall, 1792, M.A. 1795, and for several years Fellow of that College, B.D. 1808, Sequestrator of Hinxton, and above twenty years Vicar of Great Gransden.

too common an air to the character, dispensed with.

As for his person, we have a fine portrait of Dr. Fuller by Loggan in the *Worthies of England*, which has been very faithfully reduced by Dean, for Pickering's edition of the "*Good Thoughts in Bad Times*," &c. He was of a more than ordinary stature, but no way inclining to corpulence, of a sanguine constitution, and somewhat ruddy aspect, with a pleasant but composed and serious expression of countenance. His hair was naturally given to curl, and was of a light colour, and worn of a moderate length, beseeming his profession.

His gait was very upright and graceful. He was in dress negligent almost to a fault; his manners were simple and unstudied, but there was in him a natural courteousness that showed he affected not singularity, or to appear absent when he sometimes was so. His conversation was exceedingly attractive, and this every reader of his ingenious writings would easily conceive, for it is no vain eulogy that his biographer gives his memory when he describes him as "a perfect walking library,"* and it is plain that he was as well versed in the study of mankind as in the study of books.

"At his diet he was very sparing and temperate, but yet he allowed himself the repasts and refreshings of two meals a day; but no lover of dainties or the inventions of cookery: solid meats better fitting his strength of constitution; but from drink very much abstemious, which questionless was the cause

* P. 69.

of that uninterrupted health he enjoyed till his first and last sickness." Here our author is mistaken. He was recovered more than once from danger by means of his benevolent and pious friend Dr. Hamey.

But he was most abstemious in regard of sleep, and took but little exercise, but as being compelled by friendly yet forcible invitations. Riding was most pleasant to him, and for this he had many occasions.

The generous and kind spirit that overflows in all his works, will not suffer us to doubt that he was, as his biographer says of him, tender and faithful in his conjugal and parental attachments. Toward the education of his children he was exceedingly careful, allowing them whatsoever could conduce to that end, beyond the present measure of his estate.*

To his neighbours and friends he behaved himself with such cheerfulness and plainness of affection and respect, as deservedly gained him their highest esteem.

"From the meanest to the highest he omitted nothing that belonged to his state of life, either in a familiar correspondency or necessary visits: never waiting for entreaties of that which either was his duty, or in his power to perform. In a word, to his superiors he was dutifully respectful, without ceremony or officiousness; to his equals he was dis-

* *Life of Dr. Fuller*, p. 73. And see his observations upon *Marriage*, in his *Worthies*, vol. i. p. 257. *Ed. Nichol.*

creetly respectful, and to his inferiors (whom indeed he judged Christianly none to be), civilly respectful, without pride or disdain." * His memory has been celebrated as incomparable, and his biographer assures us † that he undertook once in passing to and fro from Temple-bar to the farthest conduit in Cheapside, at his return again to tell every sign, as they stood in order on both sides of the way, repeating them either backward or forward, as they should choose, which he exactly did, not missing or displacing one, to the admiration of those that heard him.

"For his ordinary manner of teaching, it was in some kind different from the usual method of most ministers in those times, for he seldom made any excursions into the handling of common-places, or drew his subject matter out at length, by any prolixly continued discourse. But the main frame of his public sermons, if not wholly, consisted (after some brief and genuine resolution of the context, and explication of the terms, where need required), of notes and observations, with much variety and great dexterity drawn immediately from the text, and naturally, without constraint, arising out of the main body, or the several parts of it, with some useful applications annexed thereto." ‡

"A constant form of prayer he used, as in his family, so in his public ministry; only varying or adding upon special occasions, because not only

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* *Life of Dr. Fuller*, p. 75. † *Ibid*, p. 76.
‡ *Ibid*, pp. 79, 80.

hesitation (which the good Doctor, for all his strength of memory and invention, was afraid of, before so awful a presence as the Majesty of Heaven,) was in prayer more offensive than in other discourse; but because such excursions in that duty, in the extempore way, were become the idol of the multitude."

He avoided the extremes, so various and so fatal in his times. He was zealous for the due observation of the Lord's Day, yet not of the extremists on that point, as Heylyn falsely charged him. Very few Sundays there were in the year in which he did not preach twice, besides the duties performed in his own house, or in his attendance on those noble persons to whom successively he was Chaplain.

In the high topics of predestination, he adhered to the doctrines in which he was brought up, the doctrines taught in his youth at the University of Cambridge by his uncle Davenant, a man in whom piety and sound learning were united, and to a degree perhaps rarely excelled. For he moved not with the times, but pursued his upright and even path, as before God, and not to please men.

He valued episcopacy and the liturgy, and that equally with the clergy who preceded Laud, as Andrewes, Downame, Whitgift, Fulke, Ridley, and our English Reformers, but would not with the disciples of Laud, and those who in our times take him for their model, even indirectly unchurch foreign communions.

He suffered for his loyalty, and when the episco-

pal form of the church was suppressed, whilst he still served God and his country in the way in which it was then permitted him, he feared not to avow his predilection to the more ancient order and discipline then thrown down.*

His religion appears to have been always of the practical kind. This appears to have decided the character of his discourses, which are never merely controversial; not confined to a few topics, and those the most popular with such as resolve their religion into reading and hearing. Whilst moderation was his profession, he appears to have adhered inflexibly to the theology of his early days, not changing for fashion's sake, contented with that in which he had been brought up; not, however, simply because it was the form in which his faith was familiarized to him, but because it came with this recommendation, that those who had received it were as dear to him by their personal piety as they were estimable for their learning and experience.

These memorials are, it is confessed, but very imperfect in comparison of what, peradventure, may yet be brought to light; for probably much of our author's correspondence yet lurks in various manuscript collections. Hence it is hoped that the brief notices of his friends that occur in these pages, may not be without their use. What is here brought together, will, though scanty, not be altogether unacceptable to those who in this age of heat without light, find some consolation in the hope, that ere

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* *His Triple Reconciler.*

long truth will again be heard above the din of party, and Christianity be understood and embraced, not as a system principally external, or chiefly speculative, but as faith that worketh by love.

After our author's decease, his elder son, John, of Sidney Sussex College, edited his Worthies of England; a work abounding in entertainment and information, and affording ample evidence of the indefatigable industry and versatility of talent which distinguished the compiler, albeit the greater part of this work is more than a compilation, being replete with original anecdotes, relating to all the most eminent individuals of the age of James and Charles I. Here we converse, as it were, with Dr. Fuller upon every kind of subject; nor did he ever require any excitement whose most sober moments were relieved with his own unparalleled facetiousness; a facetiousness never tainted with invective and malevolence. So we find that he left it to King James to condemn, and to the men of Gloucestershire, once planters thereof, to commend tobacco. "As for the praise of tobacco, with the virtues thereof, they may better be performed by the pens of such writers whose palates have tasted of the same." *

From his commendation of music in his *Pisgah-Sight*, he was doubtless a great lover thereof.

Remarkable are his architectural observations;

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* *Gloucestershire Worthies*, i. p. 373.

although they betray his defectiveness of taste in this department, who, in his notice of Essex, could pass by without admiration the churches of Thaxted and Saffron Walden. He tells us that his own eyes and ears had witnessed to the beauty of Gloucester Cathedral, and to the echo of the whispering gallery, and gives his readers the remarks of Lord Bacon in his *Natural History*, upon the latter.*

He fails not to do justice to the Collegiate church at Manchester: "The choir thereof, though but small, is exceeding beautiful, and, for wood-work, an excellent piece of artifice." The magnificent church of Beverley it is probable that he had not seen, as he observes that it "is much commended for a fine fabric."

He may perhaps have risen superior to his age in his veneration of the Gothic. So he notes of York Minster, "Now as it follows not that the usurping Tulip is better than the rose, because preferred by some foreign fancies before it; so is it as inconsequent that *modish* Italian churches are better than this *reverend magnificent structure*, because some humorous travellers are so pleased to esteem them."

Characteristic is Dr. Johnson's very brief allusion to the Cathedral of Durham. Noble is the compliment of our author to that of Lincoln: "It is a magnificent structure, proportionable to the amplitude of the diocese." He omits not to bring before us the sombre effect and cumbrous majesty of the

* *Cent.* ii. *num.* 148.

old St. Paul's. His account of it however is in favour of Sir Christopher Wren's own judgment, for the rebuilding rather than repairing of it. To Romanism it is owing that his intentions were frustrated by the rejection of that most noble design, in which all his power was put forth without restraint.

Coming to the Abbey of Westminster, now so grievously disfigured by the miscellaneous collection of monuments that have made it one vast anachronism, our author cannot refrain his admiration of Henry the Seventh's chapel, "which Leland calls *the miracle of the world.* Indeed, let Italians deride our English, and condemn them for *Gothish* buildings; *this* they must admire, and may here take notes of architecture (if their pride would permit *them*) to perfect theirs accordingly."

The fronts of Wells and Exeter, Fuller compares to the advantage of the former. He speaks with all due praise of the beauty of Lichfield, in the fourth book of his *Church-History.* St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, he pronounces the noblest of all parish churches. The Cathedral of that city has scarcely received the notice that it merits, as abounding in so many original features of the decorated age, the age of Tintern Abbey, of Exeter Cathedral, and of the Lady Chapel, Ely. Of Worcester Cathedral he writes, "I am sorry I have never seen the Cathedral of Worcester, so that I cannot *knowingly* give it a due commendation; and more sorry to hear that our late civil wars have made so sad an impression thereon."

The pillars and pilasters, called by him, pillarets,

of Salisbury Cathedral, Fuller describes as made of *fusile marble;* an ancient art, now shrewdly suspected to be lost."* I am informed by my worthy friend Mr. Bunch, Fellow of Emanuel College, that these pillars in a state of decay present an artificial appearance, whence perhaps originated Dr. Fuller's mistake.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Nichols did not supply in his edition of the *Worthies*, the numerous dates that were omitted in the first edition of this most interesting and copious miscellany.

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* *Worthies of England, Wiltshire,* vol. ii. p. 436.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

CHAPTER I.

DR. ADAM CLARKE, in his Memoirs of the Wesley family, has recorded, that John Wesley's grandfather, Wesley of Whitechurch, married the niece of Dr. Thomas Fuller; but it may be questioned whether sufficient proof of this statement is adduced by the relator.

A member of the family of the Clarkes (p. 5,) built the market-house at Farnham, at his sole cost. So *Fuller* in his *Worthies*.

CHAPTER IV. P. 67.

IN A. D. 1638, Fuller wrote an Epitaph to the memory of Denys Rolle, Esq. who died A. D. 1638: the Epitaph is engraved on his tomb in Bicton Church, Devonshire.

His earthly part within this tombe doth reste,
Who kept a court of honour in his breaste:
Birth, beautie, wit, and wisdom sat as pieres
Till death mistook his virtues for his years;
Or else heaven envied earth so rich a treasure,
Wherein too fine the ware, too scant the measure.

His mournful wife, her love to shew in part
This tomb built here—a better in her heart.
Sweet babe, his hopeful heyre, Heaven grant this boon,
Live but so well; but oh! die not so soon.

The father of the late venerable Lord Rolle, was named Dennis.

CHAPTER V. P. 75.

THOMAS WARMESTRY, son of William Warmestry, Registrary of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, was born and educated in grammar learning in that city, became a student of Christ Church in 1624 or thereabouts, and had some preferment in Worcestershire conferred upon him soon after he took his Master's degree in 1631. In 1640, he was clerk for the diocese of Worcester in the two convocations of the clergy held that year, and in 1642 retired for safety to Oxford, when he was created D.D. He afterwards lost what he had before obtained in the church, notwithstanding he had always before, says Antony Wood, been accounted a Puritan. After the royal cause declined, he lived mostly in London, was the distributer of money (obtained from generous loyalists) to sufferers for the royal interest, and very zealous every way in the discharge of his duties as a minister of the gospel.

At the Restoration, he was rector of Hampton, in Gloucestershire; was presented to the second stall in Gloucester Cathedral, July 27, 1660, and on Nov. 27, 1661, installed Dean of Worcester on the death of Dr. John Oliver, President of Magdalene College, Oxford. He died Oct. 30, 1665, and was buried in Worcester Cathedral.

He published *A Convocation Speech* against images, altars, crosses, the new canons, and the oath, Lond.

1641, 4to. This speech contains many things unhappily as applicable to our times, as to those of Warmistre. It is full of gravity and moderation, and is one of very many proofs, that the same heats about trifles divided the church then as now; for instance, zeal for the word *sacrifice* as applied to the Holy Communion; the use of the word *altar*, to the disparagement of the apostolic term, the Lord's Table, and of unlit lights in churches, a symbol rather of darkness than of light. Dr. Warmestry was censured, probably for his fidelity and good deserts, by the House of Commons, June 23, A.D. 1657. He was at that time, preacher at St. Margaret's, Westminster. His numerous treatises relating to the times, are given in *Wood's Ath. Oxon.* see vol. iii. pp. 714, 715, ed. *Bliss*, 1817.

Upon *altars*, now most inconsiderately revived in some churches, see *Reasons why the Lord's Board should rather be after the form of a Table than of an Altar. Bp. Ridley's Works*, pp. 321—324. Cambridge, 1843.

When Harding charges the Reformed with resembling the Donatists in their fury against altars, Jewel replies, "As for the altars, which Optatus saith the Donatists broke down, they were certainly tables of wood, *such as we have*, and not heaps of stone, such as ye have." (*Defence of the Apology*, p. 315.) He goes on to prove that the primitive altars were of wood; a fact, we may observe, which is not contested. Thus Merati writes, "Communis fert eruditorum opinio, primis ecclesiæ temporibus altaria fuisse lignea." (*In Gavanti Thes.* i. 130. Cf. *Martene*, i. 111.)

It is ordered in the advertisements of 1565, *that the parish provide a decent table, standing on a frame, for a communion table.* (Documentary Annals, i. 292.) And in the canons of 1571, the following charge is given to churchwardens, "Curabunt mensam ex asseribus com-

posite junctam, quæ administrationi sacro sanctæ communionis inserviat." (*Synodal.* 123.)

The 3rd canon of 1604, which begins, "Whereas we have no doubt but that in all churches convenient and decent tables are provided;" appears to assume that the material was such as is described in the extract just quoted.

The Vicar of Grantham, quarrelling with his parishioners, threatened that "he would build him an altar of stone, at his own charge, and would never officiate upon any other:" (*Holy Table* 6,) his Bishop, Williams, tells him, and alleges evidence for the opinion, that *tables made of stone and fixed in one place*, are against the intention of the Anglican church. (Ib. 13—19, &c.)

The 7th canon of 1640, in giving orders for placing the communion-table at the east end of churches, declares, that at the time of reforming this church from that gross superstition of popery, it was carefully provided that all means should be used to root out of the minds of the people, both the inclination thereunto and memory thereof; especially of the *idolatry* committed in the Mass, for which cause all popish altars were demolished. (*Synodal.* 404.) *The Rev. J. C. Robertson's How shall we conform to the Liturgy? 2nd ed. Pickering, London,* 1844, pp. 163—165.

CHAPTER VI. P. 106. A.D. 1641.

HENRY MYRIEL of the University of Cambridge, was on January 16, A.D. 1642–3, created B.D. of Oxford. He died April 22, 1643, aged thirty-three years, and was buried in All Saints' Church, Oxford. *Wood's Fasti,* p. 706, *Ath. Oxon. vol.* ii. *ed.* 1692.

P. 108. The reader will find a memoir of Bishop Davenant in *Middleton's Biographia Evangelica.*

CHAPTER VII. P. 113.

DR. YOUNG mentioned in this page, was probably not Dr. John Young, Dean of Winchester, but Dr. Edward Young, Dean of Exeter in 1662, who died about June 1663. By his last will and testament, dated 6th June, 1663, he bequeathed the sum of £250, to be paid at farthest within two years after his death, towards the purchasing of lands in fee-simple, or a rent-charge; to the amount of £12 per annum; of which forty shillings a year he directed by his said will, to be paid to the poor of St. Catherine's alms-house, Exeter; forty shillings to the choristers of the cathedral; and twenty shillings a year to the prisoners in the gaol near the castle, to be distributed by the Dean of Exeter for the time being, annually on the 29th of May. *Jenkin's History of the City of Exeter*, p. 315. *Exeter*, 1806.

P. 119. Through the interest of the most munificent Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, her chaplain Hugh Oldham, was in 1506, raised to the see of Exeter; and thus, with like liberality, was founded the grammar-school of Manchester. Bishop Oldham also contributed toward the building of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 6000 marks, adding also some valuable estates in land.

CHAPTER IX. P. 153.

THE infant princess was baptized in the cathedral of Exeter, by the name of Henrietta Maria. The sponsors were Sir John Berkly, the Lady Poulett (of Hinton St. George,) and Lady Dalkeith. On this occasion a handsome font

was erected in the body of the cathedral, under a rich canopy of state, and Dr. Burnell, chancellor of the church, officiated on the occasion. *Jenkin's Hist. of Exeter*, p. 161.

Before the departure of the Queen from Exeter, she was presented, in the name of the citizens, with a purse containing £200, in gold. *Ibid*, p. 162.

The Lady Elizabeth Russell, daughter of the Earl of Bedford, married August the 7th, 1582, to the Rt. Hon. William, Earl of Bath, was born in Bedford House, as was also the Lady Margaret Russell, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, youngest daughter of the Rt. Hon. Francis Russell, the second Earl of Bedford, baptized in St. Stephen's, Exeter, (since rebuilt) July 9th, 1566.

Bedford House was the residence of the Abbots of Tavistock when at Exeter, and formed part of the monastery of Benedictines there, which was founded by one of the abbots as a cell to Tavistock. It was a large and sumptuous building, and was, at the dissolution, granted together with the abbey of Tavistock, to John, Lord Russel, afterward created Earl of Bedford; and from the earls and dukes often residing here, it received the name of Bedford House, but being deserted by them in the last century, was divided into several tenements, and pulled down to make way for some new houses commenced in 1773, and now called *Bedford Circus*. They stand north-east of the cathedral.

P. 153. *Dr. Robert Vilvain.* Robert Vilvain of Exeter College, B.A. May 9, 1597. Wood's Fasti, ed. Bliss, p. 274, vol. i. M.A. July 8, 1600, p. 286. M.D. June 20, 1611.

Robert Vilvain, a most noted physician of his time in the west of England, son of Peter Vilvain, sometime steward of the city of Exeter, by Anne his wife, was

born in the parish of All Hallows, in Goldsmith Street, Exeter, and there educated in grammar learning. In Lent Term 1593, he became a sojourner of Exeter College, aged 18 years, was elected fellow of that house in 1599, and in 1600, July 8, proceeded M. A. In 1611, June 20, he took the degree of M.D. and resigned his fellowship. He then returned to his native city. He published *Theoremata Theologica; Theological Treatises in eight Theses of Divinity*, viz. *Production of Man's Soul, Divine Predestination, The True Church Regimen, Predictions of Messiah, Christ's Two Genealogies, The Revelation Revealed, Christ's Millenar Reign, The World's Dissolution. Lond.* 1654, 4to. [*Bodl.* B. 3, 5, Linc.] with Supplements subjoined. *A Compend. of Chronography*, 1654. Lond. in 5 sh. 4to. *Enchiridion Epigrammatum Latino-Anglicum*, or an *Epitome of Essays Englished out of Latin*, &c. also *A Fardel of* 76 *Fragments and a Survey of our English Julian Year.* He was buried early in 1663, in the cathedral, *Dec.* 21, *Feb.* 1662-3, *æt.* 87.

He was a liberal benefactor to two hospitals for poor children in that city; and in 1633, gave £32. per ann. for four poor scholars, each to have £8. per ann. to come from that Free School in Exeter, founded by Hugh Crossing, Esq. to Exeter College, or any other college, Oxford. *Wood's Ath. Oxon.* B. 2, 633, vol. 3, 1817. In 1657, Dr. Vilvain gave a library to the cathedral. On the left side of the entrance into the Lady Chapel is his monument fixed to the wall. His benefactions to his native city may be seen in *Jenkin's Hist. of Exeter*, pp. 332—334.

In the anonymous life of Dr. Thomas Fuller, it is said, that after the birth of the Princess Henrietta, and Fuller's appointment to be chaplain, "The King to

signify his approbation of the doctor's excellent worth by a farther testimony of it, soon afterwards gave him a patent for his presentation to the town of Dorchester in Dorsetshire, a living valued to be worth £400 per annum." P. 34. Both the livings at Dorchester were latterly in the gift of the *corporation*.

CHAPTER XVII. P. 274.

THE birth of this young prince [Charles the Second, A.D. 1630,] as it gave cause of great rejoicings to all good subjects, so it gave no small matter of discouragement to the Puritan faction, who had laid their line another way, and desired not that this king should have had any children: insomuch, that at a feast in Friday Street, when some of the company shewed great joy at the news of the Queen's first being with child, a leading man of that faction (whom I could name, were it worth the while) did not stick to say, that he could see no such cause of joy as the others did. Which said, he gave this reason for it, that God had already better provided for us than we had deserved, in giving such a hopeful progeny by the Queen of Bohemia; whereas it was uncertain what religion the King's children would follow, being to be brought up under a mother so devoted to the Church of Rome. *Heylyn's Life of Laud*, p. 209, 1668.

CHAPTER XVIII. P. 286.

SPENCER'S KAINA KAI ΠΑΛΑΙΑ, *by John Spencer, a Lover of Learning and Learned Men. London, W. Wilson and J. J. Streater for John Spencer at Sion College*, 1658, fol. pp. 679; is the fruit of an immense variety of read-

ing both of ancient and modern learning. In this very extensive and interesting collection, are several passages from Fuller's *unpublished sermons.*

C. XIX. *Riches have wings.*

It is a term amongst falconers, that if a hawk fly high, she lessens, O she lessens (saith the falconer); but if she soar yet higher, then he cries out, O she vanisheth, she vanisheth. And it is now found to be true by sad and woful experience, that riches are upon the wing, and have of late, by one means or other, taken such a flight out of many men's purses, that they have lessened and lessened every day more and more, and are now at present by the continuance of time even as good as quite vanished. *Tho. Fuller's Serm. at S. Clem.* [*Eastcheap*] *London*, 1647. *Spencer's Things New and Old*, p. 29.

296. *Not to continue angry.*

Two Grecian bishops, being fallen out about some difference in point of judgment, parted asunder in great anger, but the elder of them, (for so the wiser is to be accounted) sent unto his colleague a message only in these two words, *Sol ad occasum, The sun is about to go down.* The other no sooner heard it, but he reflected on that of the apostle, Let not the sun go down upon your wrath; and so they were both friends again. How doth this *amity* of theirs condemn the *enmity* that is amongst many of us at this time. As that deadly feud of the Scots, who entailed their lands on posterity conditionally, that they should fight against the party that had offended, and never entertain any the least pacification: and such wrangling lawsuits as that of the two noble families Barclay and Lisle, which began in the reign of Edward the Fourth, and continued to the first year of King James, full seven

score years. It cannot be denied, but that a man may with good qualifications go to law for his own; but the length of time in the suit, when the grandchild shall hardly end that which the grandfather began, may draw on a great suspicion in the want of charitable affection. *T. Fuller's Ser. at S. Clem.* 1647. *Spencer*, p. 72.

582. *God slow to anger and of great patience.*

It is observable, that the Roman magistrates, when they gave sentence upon any one to be scourged, a bundle of rods tied hard with many knots, was laid before them. The reason was this, that whilst the beadle, or flagellifer was untying the knots, which he was to do *by* [i. e. in] *order* and not in any other hasty or sudden way, the magistrate might see the deportment and carriage of the delinquent, whether he were sorry for his fault, and shewed any hope of amendment, that then he might recal his sentence, or mitigate the punishment; otherwise to be corrected so much the more severely. Thus God in the punishing of sinners how patient is he! how loath to strike! how slow to anger if there were but any hopes of recovery! How many knots doth he untie! How many rubs doth He make in his way to justice! He doth not try us by martial law, but pleads the case with us, Why will ye die, O ye house of Israel? and all this to see whether the poor sinner will throw himself down at his feet, whether he will come in and make his composition, and be saved. *T. Fuller, Serm. at St. Dunstan's in the East. London*, 1647. And see in p. 230, a passage upon *Blasphemous Language*. Also a passage upon *the true measure of justice*, too familiarly illustrated from Edward the First making the measure of his arm the standard yard measure of the kingdom; so the counsel of the divine will is the standard of his justice, and should be of ours. *Spencer*, p. 231.

The Resurrection. Fuller, 1648. *Spencer*, p. 148, 589.

I HAVE stood in a smith's forge, and seen him put a rusty, cold, dull piece of iron into the fire, and after awhile he hath taken the same piece, the very same, numerical, individual piece of iron out of the fire, but bright, sparkling. And thus it is with our bodies; they are laid down in the grave, dead, heavy, earthly; but at the resurrection, this mortal shall put on immortality, at that general conflagration, this dead, heavy, earthly body shall arise living, lightsome, glorious; which made Job so confident; *I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that with these eyes I shall see him*, xix. 25. *T. Fuller, Ser. St. Clem. London*, 1648.

SPENCER records in p. 153, a passage from our author's sermon at St. Clement's, Eastcheap, 1648, upon the difficulty which little children find in pronouncing the petition *forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us*. "The reason is, because of the harshness of the sound, the reiteration of one and the same words, the multiplicity of the consonants, and the like. It were to be wished, that that which they are so often out at, we could be more frequently in at, that what is not easy for their shallow heads to conceive, may not be too hard for our more experimental hearts to practise. But it is hard indeed. Why else did Christ make a comment on that petition, passing by the other five when he taught his disciples to pray? And hence it is, that injuries are registered in sheets of marble to all posterity, whilst benefits are written in the sand, ready to be dashed out by the foot of the next that passeth by." There is a similar observation in our author's *Triple Reconciler*.

T. Fuller, Ser. at St. Clems. Lond. 1649.
Spencer, p. 143.

The Merchants of London petitioned Queen Elizabeth, that they might but have liberty to level the town of Dunkirk (a place at that time very obnoxious to the safety of the merchants' trade) and they would do it at their own charges. The Queen by the advice of her council returns them an answer in the negative; she could not do it. What, not suffer them to beat hers and their enemies? not to fire such a nest of hornets? not to demolish such a piratical town as that was? No, it must not be. And why? she knew well that it would not do amiss that they should be always sensible of so near and so offensive an enemy, and so be always preparing and prepared to defend themselves and the state of the whole kingdom; which took a right effect. For hereupon all turn men of war; hardly a boat but is manned out for service, which otherwise might have either rotted in the harbour, or ridden securely at anchor. Thus God, when his dear children cry out unto him to be delivered from the body of sin, that sin may not reign in their mortal bodies, He so far granteth their requests, that by the special dispensations of his Holy Spirit, sin shall not prevail over them: not but that sins of infirmity shall still cleave to the best of his children here in this world. Why? because they shall still be upon the guard, in a posture of defence, resisting the devil, quitting themselves like men, who otherwise might live in all security.*

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* i.e. *carelessness.*

Knowledge and Learning to be owned wheresoever they be found.

From a *Sermon at S. Clem. London*, 1649.

It is observed that the Egyptians had idols and very heavy burthens; these the Israelites detested; but they had withal vessels of gold and silver, and these according to God's command [*Exod.* xi. 12,] they made a religious use of. One seeing Virgil very studious in a dull piece of Ennius' poetry, asked him what he did with that book. He answered, *lego aurum in stercore, I am gathering gold out of a dunghill.* Thus it is that knowledge is to be owned whensoever or in whomsoever it is found: *fas est et ab hoste doceri: a man may learn of his enemy;* nay, *aliena pericula, another man's harms,* may teach us how to beware. Much of morality may be picked up from the heathens; much of the knowledge of God from philosophers; much of learning from the poets; and much of divine truth from some of our well read adversaries of Rome, of whom it may be said, as it was sometimes of another [Origen], *Ubi bené nemo melius; ubi malé nemo pejus.* Where they have written truth, as in mere speculative points of God, the blessed Trinity, &c. there no man better; and there it is that, as the Israelites, so we may go down to the Philistines' forges to whet our swords and spears, to be furnished with sharp arguments and solid reasons to the confutation of false and heretical opinions. But where they have roved from the truth, as in the doctrine of *merit, indulgences,* &c. where you shall be sure always to find a *Matthew sitting at the receipt of custom,* there no man worse; and there we may and must forsake them. *Spencer,* p. 412.

A. D. 1650. *Consideration of God's omnipresence to be the sinner's curb.*

CAMDEN, in his Britannia, maketh mention of a great high hill in Staffordshire called Weever, under which there is a little village called Wotton; now this village being seated in so sad a dreary dolesome place, the sun not shining into it any farther than on the tops of the houses, by reason of the height of the hills overtopping it, the people of the place have been observed to chant out this note:

Wotton under Weever,
Where God came never.

This now were an excellent place for a rapacious rich man to make a purchase of, and then to plant a *colony* there, where *God came never;* a good place for drunkards to swill in, for epicures to surfeit in, for the voluptuous to take pleasure in, for the prodigal to riot in. But let them all know that God is at Wotton, and God is with them all in all places, at all times, every where *included*, no where *excluded*. *Whither shall I fly*, saith David, *from thy presence? Tho. Fuller's Serm. at Clem. Eastch. Lond.* 1650. *Spencer*, p. 128.

God a merciful God.

THERE happens sometimes in England, such assizes as are called the Maiden assizes, that is, when the offences brought to the bar, do not reach to the taking away of life, so that there is not any execution: whereupon the high sheriff of the county, presents the judges at their departure, with white gloves, to wear in commemoration of the mercies then showed to offenders, which, perhaps, by the strict rule of justice, might have been cut off. Such an assizes as this God now keeps. We sin daily;

we offend hourly, and are, therefore, guilty of death eternal; but God wooes and entreats us to come in, promiseth life eternal, nay, binds it with an oath, *As I live*, saith he, *I will not the death of a sinner*. Let us then *return* unto him *white hands, candid thoughts, clean hearts*, and then rest assured that He will look upon us, neither black with revenge, nor red with anger, but with a smooth brow and smiling countenance receive us into mercy. *Serm. at S. Clem. London*, 1650. *Spencer*, p. 234.

II.

As lawyers in this captious age of ours, when they draw up any conveyances of lands, or other writings of concernment betwixt party and party, are fain to put in many æquivocal terms of one and the same signification, as, to have and to hold, occupy and enjoy lands, tenements, hereditaments, profits, emoluments; to remise, release, acquit, discharge, exonerate of and from all manner of actions, suits, debts, trespasses, &c. and all this to make *sure work*, so that if *one word* will not hold in law, *another* may; thus God when he shows himself to his people in love, he varies his *expressions*, as he did to the Israelites (Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7), *The Lord, the Lord God merciful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercies for thousands, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin*, &c. Here's an *homonomy* of words, all *synonymous*. And why so? to raise up the drooping soul, to bind up the broken heart, that if it chance to stumble at one expression, it may be supported by another. If one word will not reach, another may. His mind is, that the poor soul may rather *leave* than *lack* when it comes to draw comfort out of the breasts of mercy. *Ibid.* p. 235.

The generality of God's knowledge.

It is said of King Edward the Sixth, that he knew all the ports, havens, harbours, and creeks in and about the English coasts, together with the depth and shallows of the water, as also the several burthens of every ship that could ride there with safety. Yet this was but a puny knowledge in that young king, when we look upon the *general knowledge* of God. He knows all things,—all creatures. Nothing is hid from his knowledge. He knows the thoughts of man afar off: He knows what he will think many years hence if he live to it. He knows the stars by their names. Whereas *our* eyes are dim, *they* small, the distance great, yet his infinite essence is a vast nomenclature of them all. Such and so general is the knowledge of our all-knowing God, that he knows all things also *simul, semel, et uno intuitu*, all at *once*, both things *past*, present, and to come. From a *Serm. at S. Clem.* 1650. *Spencer*, p. 236.

The great danger of slighting the least sin.

General Norris one of the ancients of that noble family, having (as he thought) received a slight wound in the wars of Ireland, neglected the same, presuming belike, that the balsam of his own body, without calling in for those other auxiliaries of art, would have wrought the cure: but so it was, that his arm gangrened, and both arm and life were lost together. Thus it was with him in the body natural; and thus it will be too in the body spiritual. The least of sins, therefore, is to be avoided, the least growth of sin to be prevented. The cockatrice must be crushed in the egg; else it will soon become a serpent. The very thought of sin if not thought on, will break out into action, action into custom, custom into habit, and then *actum est de corpore et animâ;* both body and soul are irrecoverably lost to all eternity. *Serm. at St. Clem. Lond.* 1650. *Ibid.* p. 256.

From a *Sermon by Tho. Fuller at St. Clement's, Eastcheap*, A. D. 1652.

Graces of the Spirit to be held fast in the midst of temporal losses.

As it is with a man in a wreck at sea, when all is cast overboard, the victuals that feed him, the cloths that should keep him warm, yet he swims to the shore with his *life in his hand;* or as it is with a valiant standard-bearer that carries the banner in the time of battle, if he sees all lost, he wraps the banner about his body, and chooseth rather to die in that as his winding sheet, than let any man take it from him or spoil him of it; he will hold that fast, though he lose his life with it. Thus Job in all his troubles is said to hold fast his integrity.* And so must all of us do, hold our spirituals, whatsoever becomes of our temporals. When wife and children, and friends, and liberty, and life, and all's a going, say unto peace of conscience, to innocency and integrity, as Jacob said to the angel, (whether they be those summer-graces of prosperity, as joy and thanksgiving; or the winter graces of adversity, as patience and perseverance; or the grace of humility that is always in season,) We will not let ye go; for indeed there is no blessing without them. There's not a man upon the face of the earth, but if he be of an heavenly temper and spiritual resolution, will, in the greatest *storm*, in the hottest *assault*, wrap himself round about with his *integrity*, and will not let it *go*, till he *go along with it*.

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* *Job* ii. 4.

From a *Sermon by Fuller at St. Botolph's, Bishopgate*, 1653.

Curious inquisitors into God's secrets deservedly punished.

It is recorded of one Sir William Champney, in the reign of King Henry the Third, that, living in Tower Street, London, he was the first man that ever builded a turret on the top of his house, that he might the better overlook all his neighbours; but it so happened that not long after, he was struck blind, so that he which would see more than others, saw just nothing at all; a sad judgment! And thus it is just with God, when men of towering high thoughts must needs be prying into those *arcana Dei*, the *hidden secrets of God*, that they should be struck *blind* on the place, and come tumbling down in the midst of their so curious inquiry. At the ascension of Christ, it is said that he was taken up in a cloud, being entered into his presence chamber, a curtain as it were, was drawn to hinder his disciples *gazing*, and our further *peeping;* yet for all that a man may be *pius pulsator*, though not *temerarius scrutator;* he may modestly knock at the counsel-door of God's secrets, but if he *enter* further, he may assure himself to be more bold than welcome. *Spencer*, p. 554.

From a *Sermon by Fuller preached at St. Bride's, London*, 1655; occasioned by a motion of bringing in of the Jews into England.

It is a maritime observation, that if a thick fog darken the air, there is then (the great God of heaven and earth having in his providence so ordered it) no storm, no tempestuous weather: and if it be so that a storm arise, then the sky is somewhat clear and lightsome. For, were it otherwise, no ship at sea, nor boat in any navigable river

could ride or sail in safety, but would clash and fall foul one upon another. Such is the sad condition of every soul amongst us, wherein *ignorance* and *wilfulness* have set up their rest together. And why? because that if a man were ignorant only, and not wilful, then the breath of wholesome precepts and good counsel might in time expel those thick mists of darkness that cloud his understanding. And were he wilful and not ignorant, then it were to be hoped that God in his good time, would *rectify his mind*, and bring him to the knowledge of himself. But when the storm and the fog meet; when wilfulness and ignorance (as at this day amongst the Jews, and too, too many Christians,) do *close together*, nothing without the greater mercies of God, can befall that poor shipwrecked soul, but ruin and destruction. *Spencer*, p. 645.

CHAPTER XVIII. Page 290.

Mixt Contemplations in these times. No. 46, p. 256, ed. Pickering. "Some alive will be deposed for the truth of this strange accident, though I forbear naming of place or persons." The person was *Oliver Cromwell.*

"His very infancy (if we believe what Mr. Audley, brother to the famous civilian, says he had heard some old men tell his grandfather) was marked with a peculiar accident, that seemed to threaten the existence of the future Protector; for his grandfather, Sir Henry Cromwell, having sent for him to Hinchinbrook, when an infant in arms, a monkey took him from the cradle, and ran with him upon the lead that covered the roofing of the house. Alarmed at the danger Oliver was in, the family brought beds to catch him upon, fearing the creature's dropping him; but the sagacious animal brought the 'fortune of England' down in safety: so narrow an escape had he, who was doomed to be the conqueror and sovereign ma-

gistrate of three mighty nations, from the paws of a monkey." *Noble's Memoirs of the Cromwell Family*, vol. i. p. 92, *from the Rev. Dr. Lort's MSS.*

Page 290. In p. 104 of the anonymous Life of Dr. Fuller, he is said to have gone to the Hague in the retinue of a noble lord as his chaplain.

There is a notice of Dr. Fuller to this effect in p. 46 of the first volume of Pepys' Diary, in the hasty and unfinished manner of that writer.

Again, there is the following notice of our author in p. 92: 21 Jan. 1661. "I met with Dr. Tho. Fuller. He tells me of his last and great book that is coming out, that is, the History of the Families in England, and could tell me more of my own than I knew myself. And also to what perfection he hath brought the art of memory, that he did lately to four eminently great scholars dictate together in Latin, upon different subjects of their proposing, faster than they were able to write, till they were tired; and that the best way of beginning a sentence, if a man should be out and forget his last sentence (which he never was) that his last refuge is to begin with an *utcunque*. *Sam. Pepys' Diary*, vol. i. p. 92.

He also mentions that he heard Fuller preach at the Savoy from *Job* xiv. 14, on May 12, 1661.

At p. 310, is the following:—"I walked to Cheapside, to see the effect of a fire there this morning since four o'clock, which I find in the house of Mr. Bois, that married Dr. Fuller's niece. I am very sorry for them for the doctor's sake," &c.

On the north side of the chancel in Cranford Church, is the monument of Dr. Fuller, with this inscription:—

Hic jacet Thomas Fuller é Collegio Sydneiano in Academiâ Cantabrigiense STD. hujus ecclesiæ Rector;

ingenii acumine, memoriæ felicitate, morum probitate, omnigenâ doctrinâ (historiâ præsertim) ut varia ejus summâ æquanimitate composita testantur, celeberrimus. Qui dum viros Angliæ illustres opere posthumo immortalitate consecrare meditatus est, ipse immortalitatem est consecutus. Aug. 15, 1661.

In the notes to the memoir of Dr. Fuller in the Biographia Britannica, is a reference purporting to belong to his will. This reference was examined on the spot, and found to be incorrect, first, some few years since by my very excellent and highly valued friend, Mr. William Martin, late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and now Chief Justice of New Zealand. My very able and excellent friend, the Rev. George C. Gorham, (well known amongst antiquaries by his *History of St. Neot's*) also searched, and found "*Laud* 48" to be the will of one Thomas Fuller of Barking, in Essex, made in 1662. He moreover discovered by an entry in another Registration Court, that Dr. Fuller died intestate.

WORKS OF THOMAS FULLER.

A. D.

1631. DAVID'S Hainous Sin, Heartie Repentance, and Heavie Punishment. [Poems] By Thomas Fuller, Master of Arts, of Sidney College, in Cambridge, 18mo. London. Printed by T. Coates.

1639. History of the Holy War. By Th. Fuller, B. D. Prebendary of Sarum, late of Sidney Colledge, in Cambridge. Printed by Thos. Buck. 2d ed. 1640. 3d ed. 1647. Cambridge, by R. Daniel. *folio.*

1640. A Sermon or Sermons in Θρηνοικος. The House of Mourning Furnished. *folio.*

1640. Joseph's Parti-coloured Coat; containing a comment on part of the 11 Chapter of 1st Epist. of St. Paul to the Corinthians, together with several (8) Sermons. 4to. Lond. by John Dawson for John Williams.

1641. A brief notice of Dean Colet in Myriel's Daily Devotions, &c. written by John Colet, Doctor in Divinity, and sometime Dean of St. Paul's, London. 24mo.

1642. The Holy State and the Profane State, by Thomas Fuller, Bachelor of Divinity and Prebendary of Sarum. *folio.* Cambridge, by Roger Daniel. 2d ed. 1648.

A. D.

Cambridge. Printed by R. D. for John Williams. 3rd edit. 1652. 4th ed. 1663.

1642. A Fast Sermon, preached on Innocent's Day, by Tho. Fuller, B. D. Minister of the Savoy. 4to. London. Printed by L. N. and R. C. for John Williams, at the Crown, 1642; again 1643.

This sermon was reprinted in 1654, together with

A Sermon, preached at the collegiate church of S. Peter in Westminster, on the 27th of March, being the day of His Majesties Inauguration. London. For John Williams, at the Crown in S. Paul's Churchyard. 4to.

In the edition of 1654, the name of the printer, *William Bentley*, is added.

A Sermon of Reformation, preached at the Church of the Savoy, last Fast Day, July 27, 1643, by Tho. Fuller, B. A. and Minister there. I approve this Sermon as orthodox and useful. John Downam. 4to. London. Printed by T. B. for J. Williams, at the Crown, 1643. Another edit. 'London, printed in the yeare of our Lord, 1643.'

Truth Maintained, or Positions delivered in a Sermon at the Savoy: since traduced for dangerous: now asserted for sound and safe. Oxford, 1643. 4to.

1645. Good Thoughts in Bad Times. 18mo. by R. C. for Andrew Crook and John Williams. Another edition, Exeter, 1645. Lond. 1647—again, with the Second Century, or Good Thoughts in Bad Times, 1647. Afterwards the same edition with another title called, Good Thoughts in Worse Times, 1647. Other editions printed 1649, 1652, 1657, 1669, 1680.

1646. Andronicus, or The Unfortunate Politician, showing Sin stoutly punished, Right surely rescued. Eccles. viii. 11, by Tho. Fuller, B.D. London. Printed by

A.D.

W. Wilson, for John Williams, at the Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1646. 12mo.—again 1649.

1646. Fear of losing the Old Light, a Sermon Preached in Exeter, by Tho. Fuller, B. D. 4to. London. Printed by T. H.? for John Williams, at the sign of the Crown in Paul's Churchyard.

1647. The Cause and Cure of a Wounded Conscience, by Tho. Fuller, B. D. Prov. xviii. 14. London. Printed for John Williams, at the Crown in S. Paul's Churchyard, 1647. 1649. 12mo.

1647. Good Thoughts in Worse Times. Consisting of Personal Meditations; Scripture Observations; Meditations on the Times; Meditations on all kinds of Prayer; Occasional Meditations: by Tho. Fuller, B.D. London: J. Williams, 1647. 12mo.

1647. Sermon on Assurance. Foureteene Yeares agoe Preached in Cambridge, since in other places. Now by the importunity of Friends exposed to Publicke View, by Tho. Fuller, B. D. late Lecturer in Lombard Street. 4to. London, &c. 1648.

1648. A Sermon of Contentment, by T. F. a Minister of God's Word. Phillip. iv. 11. London. Printed by J. D. for John Williams, at the Crown, St. Paul's Churchyard, 1648. 12mo.

1649. The Just Man's Funeral Sermon, lately delivered in a Sermon at Chelsey, before several persons of Honour and Worship. 4to. Lond. by William Bentley, for John Williams.

1650. A Pisgah Sight of Palestine and the Confines thereof, with the History of the Old and New Testament acted thereon, by Tho. Fuller, B. D. Gen. xliii. 11, Jer. viii. 7. London. Printed by J. F. for John Williams, at the sign of the Crown in Paul's Churchyard, 1650. *folio.*

A. D.

1651. Abel Redivivus, or The Dead yet speaking. The Lives and Deaths of the Moderne Divines. Written by several able and learned men, &c. London. Printed by Tho. Brudenell, for John Stafford, dwelling in Bride's Churchyard, near Fleet Street, 1651. 4to.

1651. Preface to The Valley of Vision, or a clear sight of sundry sacred truths. Delivered in twenty-one sermons, by Dr. Holdsworth. 4to.

1652. A Comment on the eleven first verses of the fourth chapter of S. Matthew's Gospel, concerning Christ's Temptations. Delivered in 12 Sermons, at St. Clement's, Eastcheap, London, by Thomas Fuller, B.D. and Minister of Waltham Abbey, in Essex. London. Printed by J. Cotterell, for G. Eversden, at the Golden Bull in Aldersgate Street, 1652; together with The Just Man's Funeral, lately delivered in a Sermon at Chelsey, before several persons of honour and worship, by Tho. Fuller. London. Printed by J. C. for J. W. and G. F. and are to be sold at the Golden Bull in Aldersgate Street, 1652.

1653. Perfection and Peace, Delivered in a Sermon preached at the chapel of the Rt. Worshipful Sir Robt. Cooke; Dyrdans, by Tho. Fuller, B.D. 8vo. London. R. Norton, for J. Williams.

1653. The Infant's Advocate. Deut. xxix. 11, 12. Printed by R. Norton, for J. Williams, at the Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, 8vo.

1654. A Comment on Ruth, together with Two Sermons; Comfort in Calamity, and the Grand Assize. 8vo. Printed for G. and H. Everden, and are to be had at the sign of the Greyhound in Paul's Churchyard,

1654-5. A Triple Reconciler, stating the Controversies, Whether Ministers have an exclusive power of communicants from the Sacrament: whether Any persons

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unordained may lawfully preach: whether The Lord's Prayer ought to be used by all Christians: by Tho. Fuller, B. D. London. Printed by Will. Bentley, for Wm. Shears, at the Bible in S. Paul's Churchyard. Anno Dom. 1654. 8vo.

1655. Life out of Death, Preached at Chelsea, on the recovery of an Honourable Person [Sir John, father of Miss Anne Danvers]. Printed by John Williams, at the Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard, 1655. 8vo.

1554. Ephemeris Parliamentaria, A Faithful Register of the Transactions in Parliament, in the third and fourth years of the reign of our late Sovereign Lord, King Charles: containing the several speeches, cases, and arguments of Law, transacted between his Majesty and both Houses: together with the Grand Mysteries of the Kingdom then in agitation, *folio*, Lond. for John Williams—a new title was printed 1658. The Soveraigns Prerogative and the Subjects Privileges. Lond. for Hen. Marsh: a third title was printed and called 2nd edit.—Lond. for Hen. Marsh, 1660.

1655. The Church History of Britain, from the birth of Jesus Christ until the year 1648, Endeavoured by Thomas Fuller. Also The Historie of the University of Cambridge, and of the Parish of Waltham. *folio*.

1656-7. The best name in Earth, with several other Sermons, Preached at S. Bride's, and in other places: The Worst of Evils; Strange Justice; The Snare Broken, a Sermon on November 5, 1633. 8vo. Lond. R. D. for John Stafford,—again 1659, with the above title printed for the use of William Byron, Gent.

1657. A Collection of Sermons: 1. The Best of Employment; 2. A Gift for God alone; 3. The True Penitent; 4. The Best Act of Oblivion; together with Notes upon Jonah. 8vo. Lond. for John Stafford.

A. D.

1657. A Funeral Sermon preached at St. Clement Danes, at the funeral of Mr. George Heycock. 4to. Lond. by R. W. Anno Dom. 1657.

1658. Preface to KAINA KAI ΠΑΛΑΙΑ, or a Storehouse of Similes, Sentences, &c. by John Spencer, Librarian to Sion College. Folio.

1659. Appeal of Injured Innocence: unto the Religious, Learned, and Ingenuous Reader. In a Controversy betwixt the *Animadvertor*, Dr. Peter Heylyn, and the author Thomas Fuller. Folio, London. Printed by W. Godbid, and are to be sold by John Williams, at the Crown in St. Paul's Churchyard. 1659.

1659. His *Prayer before Sermon*, in *Pulpit Sparks*, or Choice Forms of Prayer by several Reverend and Godly Divines, used by them both before and after Sermon, with other prayers, for extraordinary occasions, together with Dr. Hewytt's Last Prayer. London. Printed for W. Gilbertson, at the Bible in Giltspur Street, 1658.

1660. Mixt Contemplations in Better Times. 12mo. Lond.

1660. Ornitho-logie: or the Speech of Birds: also the Speech of Flowers. Partly Morall, Partly Mysticall, Being a Historical Relation of these Times. By Tho. Fuller, Batchelor in Divinity. London. Printed for Tho. Rookes, and are to be sold at the sign of the Holy Lamb, at the East end of St. Paul's Church, 1660, 12mo. Another title, 1663.

1660. A Panegyrick to His Majesty on his Happy Return, by Thomas Fuller, B.D. 4to. London. Printed for John Playford, at his shop in the Temple.

1662. The History of the Worthies of England, &c. Endeavoured by Tho. Fuller, D.D. London. Printed

A. D.

by J. G. W. L. and W. G. for Thomas Williams, and are to be sold at the sign of the Bible in Little Britain, 1662, *folio;* ed. J. Nichols, 1811. 4to. 2 vols.

There are also attributed to Fuller, but whether rightly or not, has not as yet been ascertained :

The Life of the Rev. Henry Smith, prefixed to his Select Discourses. 4to.

Triana, a Threefold Romanza, 1664. 12mo.

A Tract in Latin, concerning the Church, not perfected by him.

The two last are included in a Catalogue of Fuller's Works at the end of the Anonymous Life of our Author, 1661.

In Ayres and Dialogues, &c. by Henry Lawes, 1653, fol. is a translation by Dr. Fuller of a sacred echo-song, beginning *Imbre lacrymarum largo.*

He also wrote two copies of laudatory verses prefixed to *Dr. Sparke's Scintilla Altaris,* a work comprising prayers and contemplations, both in prose and verse, upon the fasts and festivals of the Church of England. The sixth edition of this work appeared in A. D. 1678, with a portrait of Dr. Edward Sparke.

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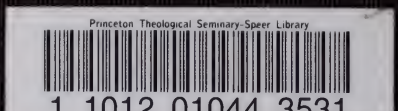
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